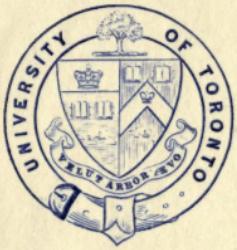


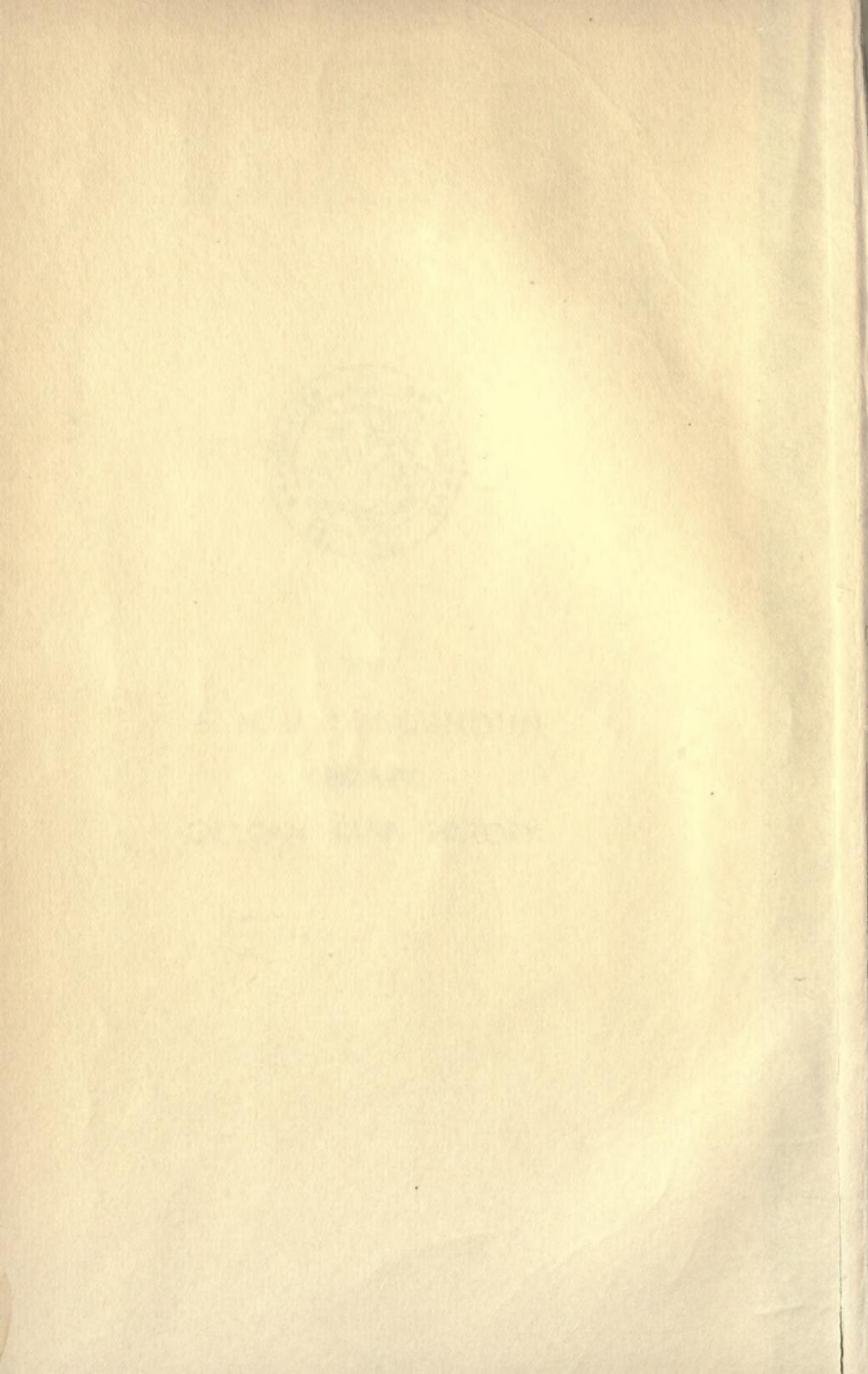
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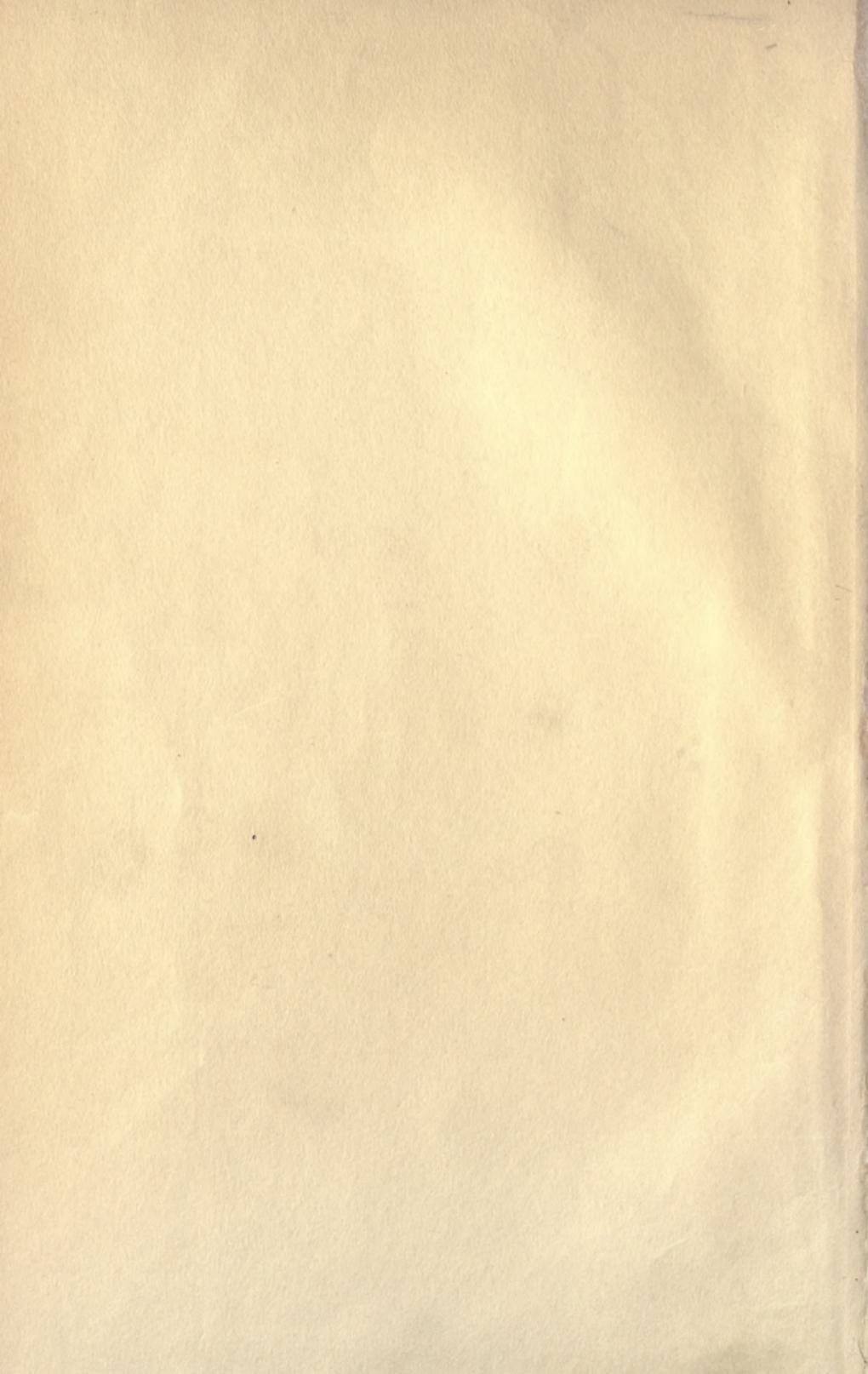


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SEASON 1903-1904



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The Canadian Club

TORONTO

(*Founded 1897*)

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THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO



(November 10)

The President's Address

By W. R. P. PARKER

After an expression of thanks to the members of the Club for the honor conferred upon him, Mr. Parker referred to the prominent position the Club had attained, and said that it was even now a factor in the social and political life of the country, and in his opinion destined to play a great part in grappling with and solving the problems of nationhood, already forcing themselves upon us.

These problems might be classified as those affecting external relations, and those which are internal and domestic. In regard to our external relations, there is some feeling abroad that our present status is only a temporary one. Three predominant views had been advanced by different people as to the future: by some, national independence; by others, that Canada should be a self-governing unit in a federated empire, and by some few, union with the republic to the south, implying a loss of identity and a national death. The working of the laws of migration, combined with rapid internal growth, will rapidly and inevitably make this country as populous as it is great in habitable extent, and whatever the future might have in store, he believed that during the lifetime of many of those present the step would be taken which would settle for all time the destiny of Canada.

Whatever the ultimate destiny of the country might be, he believed that the decision should be one based on reason as opposed to mere sentiment, and a logical reasoning from premises thoroughly understood. There should be as to our future an active conscious purpose, as opposed to a policy of drift. In other words, the matter should be discussed and understood and should not be left for hot-heads to decide in a moment of pique.

The study of Canadian questions thus became an immediate duty, and, accordingly, he would like to see a thorough discussion of such matters as the proposed British preferential tariff, which might be a very potential factor in the future of the people.

Each of the great questions or problems of nationhood is many sided, and there is a large number of men who have deeply studied them, who might be asked to appear before the Club. It had been stated by one of the previous speakers that in the course of its numerous meetings in the



last few years the available speakers had been pretty well exhausted, but the President thought that there were many men capable of discussing national matters who had not yet been heard from. He also advocated greater continuity in the subjects considered by the Club, and suggested that a record of its proceedings be kept and printed for distribution among the members.

(V)

(November 16)

Canada and Imperial Defence

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T. DENISON

Lieut.-Colonel Denison referred at the outset to the part he had played as far back as 1868 in the formation of the Canada First Club, and his pleasure now in addressing young men who were taking the most active interest in the question of Canadian nationality. As the President of the Club had recently pointed out, there were three imaginable futures for Canada. Of these, two could not be seriously considered. Annexation to the United States, involving as it would the destruction of all our national aspirations, the loss of all our cherished ideals, would be an outrage to the memory of those of our people who had gone before and who had fought so hard for our preservation, and was a most impossible thing. The so-called independence outside the British Empire would result in dependence upon another aggressive nation of great strength and power. The true secret of the future of Canada was independence within the empire.

The most remarkable feature of this age is the tendency to union among nations during the past fifty years. In the United States, after a terrific struggle of four years, secession had lost and union had won. Italy had developed from a collection of petty principalities to a united and powerful country. The mighty German Empire of to-day was the result of the combination of various petty principalities, drawn together largely by a trade zollverein, entered upon for the internal development and protection of German trade and industries. In Russia there was no need for further union. When he had visited Russia twenty-five years ago he had been surprised to find Nihilists as scarce as annexationists are in Canada, and to find an almost universal loyalty to the Czar. Russia was expanding, and so was the British Empire for that matter. France was also following a policy of absorption. But in absorption our neighbors to the south could really give us the best pointers. They had acquired by fraud Texas and California; they had conquered Porto Rico and the Phillipines; they had quietly purchased Alaska—with all its harbors—because it belonged to Russia, a large and powerful empire, and at this moment they were beginning to acquire Panama in the same way that they acquired Texas, California and the Sandwich Islands.

There were thus five great predominating powers, and what chance was there going to be for the small independent principality? Nothing but the natural rivalry and jealousy of the great nations was preventing the partition of defenceless China, with its 400,000,000 population.

The British Empire had not kept pace with the movement towards union. As far back as 1871 he had advocated the federation of the British Empire, with the hope that Canada would in time be not only the largest part of the empire territorially, but with prospects of having the largest population, the greatest wealth and the greatest influence upon the counsels of the empire.

Previous to one hundred years ago wars were carried on in nearly all countries by small paid armies while the people generally stayed at home and attended to business. When all Europe sent their allied regular armies to attack France in 1793 the French people rose to arms to the number of 1,300,000 men. Other nations took up the spirit, and to-day the war footing of France is 4,000,000 men and some thousands of guns; Germany has about the same; Russia has a force ready for war of 4,600,000.

Now, what are we doing for defence?

Col. Denison continued:—What are our expenses for the last twenty-five years? They have averaged 41 cents a head. I think that that, compared with the expenses of every other civilized nation in the world, is simply frivolous. For the whole of the twenty-five years the full expenditure of the Canadian people, including the whole expense of the Northwest rebellion, amount to \$10.37 per head, added together. The volunteers themselves, I may say, have raised this a little; they probably raised the average rate to 45 cents, but it has been done by a heavy cost to each individual volunteer. This year it has risen to 68 cents per head. Let us compare that with the expenses of other nations. The United Kingdom in 1902-3, that being during a part of the time of the war, expended \$12.00 per head per annum of every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. In any other year it amounts to say \$7.50. The United States spend, per head of their population, \$4.25 per annum; France, \$5.22; Netherlands, \$3.24; Germany, \$2.70; Portugal, a small country, with just about our population, \$1.80, and we spend ordinarily 45 cents; this year, 68 cents, and 25 cents of that is put on capital account, so that we will not have to pay it all at once. The question is whether we should pay more than 68 cents or not; or whether, if we come to consider the question of our defence, we are satisfied that 68 cents per annum is enough.

Now, suppose we were an independent nation, and we could not be a really independent people unless we were to do as they do in Switzerland; we would have to commence with the children in the schools, and train every child that grew up in our country to be a soldier; we would be obliged to have a law of conscription; we would be obliged to have every single man in the country trained, and we would have a rifle for every man that was at all able to carry arms in the whole of the country, and it would be

necessary to have manufactoryes all over the country for the purpose of making cannon and shells and all sorts of ammunition. We would have to go into the expenditure at an enormous rate. We would have to do as the Boers did, and be ready, all the able-bodied men of five millions of us, to go to the front, and then I believe we would be able to hold our own under modern conditions. But it would be at an enormous cost, and then it woul;l not be as safe or as good as if we were to spend probably a quarter as much, and pay it in connection with the co-operation of 400,000,000 of people, where we would have the whole of that empire pledged and bound under a distinct agreement, that if we were to help them that they would come and help us. We have only to see what happened in the Boer war, where when one portion of the Empire was struck, the whole Empire came to the front and helped. Therefore I say it is to our advantage to consider the question of national defence, and to consider it in the interest of ourselves, and to have that defence organized in connection with Imperial defence.

I have given you what would happen if we were independent; and even spending in the same ratio as that little kingdom of Holland, according to its population, we would be spending \$15,000,000 instead of about \$3,000 000 which we do. As far as regards Portugal, if we were to spend in the same ratio as that country, we would spend \$10,000,000 a year. If we were annexed to the United States we would, from the simple fact of being connected with that country, have to pay \$20,000,000 a year towards the general military expenses of that country. When you come to think of that, the next point we have got to consider, in considering our duty to the empire, is to see what ratio we are paying as compared with other headings. Let us compare ourselves with the United Kingdom per head of the population, and let us take an ordinary year, say the ordinary £60,000,000 a year. If we were to pay in proportion to our population our share would be \$40,250,000 per year. Of course, some may say we are not as wealthy as England. Then there is another test that can be applied. Take the question of revenue. Revenue certainly is a good test of the wealth of the country; the amount of money which it raises on taxes ought to be a very fair test as to the relative proportion which that country would be able to pay. Our expenses would be \$28,000,000 if we take it in the same ratio as England does in regard to her revenue. If we go by revenue, as far as the United States is concerned and the proportion they pay out of their revenue, we would have to pay \$72,730,000. Suppose we take another way to prove the question of ability to pay. Suppose you take the question of exports. The export trade of a country ought to be some guide, some ratio, of the wealth of it. If we were to pay in proportion to our exports, as the United Kingdom pays in proportion to its exports, we would have to pay \$36,000,000 a year, and if we had to pay in the same proportion as the United States pay, as compared with their exports, we would have to pay \$49,500,000.

There is another matter to be considered. We have got nearly 675,000 tons of shipping, and we do not pay one single farthing for the defence

of that shipping; it is being defended for us in every part of the globe by the finest navy in the whole world, and we are not paying any share of its maintenance at all. Now as to the naval defence. If we paid on simply the tonnage of our own ships which are protected in proportion to the tonnage of the British ships which are protected, we would have to pay \$10,000,000 in proportion to what the United Kingdom pay; and if we paid in the same ratio as the United States pay on their tonnage, we would pay \$11,000,000.

I ask, is it wise or is it right for us to hesitate? Should we not do something towards our defence? Is it right that we should say, that we do not want to spend anything towards defence? I do not care how that money is expended for defence, whether it is expended in a contribution to the navy or not, but I think that would be a reasonable way of putting it, the same as you would pay an amount of money in cash to an insurance company to guard you in time of fire—and you would get the best navy in the world to do it for you, and you could afford to pay the money to help that navy if it was on the understanding that that navy would protect your shipping.

(November 23)

By E. B. OSLER, M.P.

Mr. Osler said that he felt he must apologize to the Club and at the same time pitch into the President for not having given him longer notice. He had not realized the importance of the occasion until he had been asked by a newspaper representative if he could not furnish a synopsis of what he was going to say. He had explained that it was Colonel Denison they should have secured to speak to them upon Imperial defence. "And imagine my horror," said Mr. Osler, "when I learned that Colonel Denison had already addressed you."

Mr. Osler said he could not claim to have made a deep study of the subject. Canada had been accused of having done nothing for the defence of the Empire. But Canada had built the Intercolonial Railway and the Imperial Government had guaranteed the bonds on the ground that it was a strategic work. It had cost the motherland nothing, but had materially benefited Canada. The Canadian Pacific Railway, built at the expense of Canadians, without Britain's guarantee, was an Imperial work of the utmost advantage.

On the subject of Canada's further contribution to defence there was a great variety of opinion. That no contribution should be made and that we should look forward to a perpetual state of peace with all men, would find no echo in a Canadian bosom. That might be all right when the sword had been turned into the plough share, but that time seemed to be still far distant. Every people worth their salt produced a percentage of young men who had a restless desire to do something in the way of exploration or fighting which the political economist tells us is of no use to the world. Canada had its proportion of this class and an army was to some extent an outlet for them. He cited the Northwest Mounted Police as an instance of a splendid and useful service in which our restless spirits were utilized. He believed that there

should be established special training land stations and a couple of training ships in the Atlantic and in the Pacific to further utilize this class.

Every citizen should devote some time to the study of arms, and, therefore, the Government should be generous in its grants to encourage the volunteer movement. The Minister of Militia, assisted by the Commander in Chief, had been doing a good work in this respect. Canada in the past had been lax in recognition of the fact that we are so largely dependent upon Great Britain for defence. In the future we should spend a more adequate sum to train our men and to provide a more efficient force.

He had as yet seen no satisfactory plan presented whereby we could directly contribute to Great Britain's general defence fund. Canadians were opposed to any expenditure on Imperial defence, unless they were to have a voice in how it was to be spent. The best plan was one whereby we should spend the money in Canada in developing a force of trained men within our own borders available as in the past for the defence of the Empire in any of its parts. We should, moreover, take control of the training ourselves.

He believed in the Military College system. Through it we were already supplying a quota of able bodied officers to the British army and through the consequent intermixture the bonds of Imperial friendship were being drawn closer. In this connection he recalled a remark made once in his presence by a Chicago lady who advocated the drafting of a standing regiment from every State in the Union. She said that by the time they had been shifted about for a few years there would scarcely be a girl in any large city in the United States who would not have a brother or friend or lover in some other city. The States would become acquainted with each other and cemented as they could be in no other way. Mr. Osler thought a similar service might be rendered the Empire in a similar way.

What was to be the future of Canada? Independence, annexation or remain as we are? Let us not try to anticipate, but let us make ourselves worthy of whatever the future has in store for us. He personally hoped that we would retain the present relations with Great Britain. It was a heritage of which it would be a cruelty to deprive our children. Some chafed at the idea of being called colonists. But let us be patient. The time would come when we would not be merely the offspring of the old land to be protected by her, but would be ourselves her protectors.

BY JOHN A. EWAN

Mr. John A. Ewan, who followed Mr. Osler, said that at the present stage in the progress of humanity the need of every community to provide for its own defence could not be denied. Canadians were not desirous of shirking this duty, although they were disposed to be very careful not to be hurried into courses that they had hitherto purposely avoided. The mutual distrusts of the European nations and the tremendous military burden that they involved should not be copied on this continent. One of the loftiest of the ideals which

had been formed in this western world was to avoid the waste and danger involved in the maintenance of great standing armies. Our aspirations ran in a different direction. We aspired to make every citizen a part of the defence of his country. When our British kinsmen charged us with military slackness they failed to take into account the fact that by the laws of Canada every citizen is liable to be called out, not only to defend the soil, but to leave it if the need should arise to carry the war into Africa. As to the value of troops raised in this way it was only necessary to point to the men we sent to South Africa. Many of them hardly knew what a column of fours meant, and yet it is admitted that no more effective fighting men took part in that struggle. It is true that a large proportion of the men were frontiersmen, whose ordinary callings eminently fitted them for such a campaign, but so long as the north pole was in our rear there would always be a frontier population in Canada—a race of men whose every-day life would do more to make a man a dangerous enemy on the field than a thousand years of the brass buttons and dubbin and pipe-clay of Europe. There were technical parts of the trade of war, however, such as artillery, engineering, commissariat transport and ambulance that should be constantly kept in a high state of organization.

(November 30)

Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Proposals

By HON. G. W. ROSS

After thanking the Club for the honor done him in inviting him to address it, Hon. George W. Ross, Premier of Ontario, spoke as follows:

In order that we may properly understand the subject under discussion, let us briefly consider what Chamberlain proposes in the interests of the colonies. The first point to which I would call your attention is the preference, which is offered to colonial wheat of two shillings a quarter, which means in our nomenclature, six cents a bushel. It is well known that Great Britain is dependent upon foreign countries for food. In the matter of wheat alone her imports amount to about 140,000,000 bushels a year, in addition to about 12,000,000 barrels of flour. Of this Canada supplied last year 30,706,000 bushels of wheat, and about 660,000 barrels of flour. From this statement it is evident that there is a large margin between Britain's demands and what is supplied by the Canadian agriculturist, and when we consider that the wheat area of Canada is reckoned variously at from 200,000,000 to 300,000,000 acres there need be no fear as to our ability to meet the requirements of the British Empire.

Now, suppose this preference to British wheat were granted, what would be its advantages? Briefly put I consider the following to be more than self-evident :

1. This preference would stimulate emigration to Canada and facilitate the occupation of the wild lands of all the Provinces, but particularly the prairies of the west.

2. An increase of population would create a larger home market for the manufactured goods of the older Provinces, employment would be more abundant, our own skilled labor would be applied at home to the manufacture of our own raw material, instead of the skilled labor of the foreign manufacturer, and the additional output of our factories would cheapen their products to the consumers.

3. It would greatly increase our transportation by rail and water and tend to the reduction of freights between Canada and foreign ports and would add to the employment of remunerative labor in the carrying trade of the country.

4. It would help to build up our cities and towns and broaden our industries in every district where raw material is obtainable.

5. By creating a direct trade between Canada and Britain our merchant marine would be increased and the seaports of Canada would become of equal importance with the seaports of the United States. Already by the control obtained of our transcontinental trade Montreal has superseded Buffalo for the first time in the history of America in handling the grain and other products of the west.

In the next place Chamberlain proposes a preference of 5 per cent. on meats (except bacon) and on the dairy products of the colonies. Here, as in the matter of grain consumption of meats, offers us an almost unlimited market. Last year Britain imported 1,114,000,000 pounds of meats of different kinds, such as beef, fresh and salted, mutton and pork (not including bacon), of which Canada supplied only 9,000,000 pounds. Her imports of bacon alone amounted to 570,000,000 pounds. The greater portion of this meat supply came from the United States, although Australia furnished the bulk of the fresh mutton. Three million pounds of foreign meats are consumed in Britain every day and for the whole year we furnish only a three days' supply.

Then as to dairy products. Britain imported last year 445,000,000 pounds of butter, of which Canada supplied only 24,000,000 pounds, and 285,000,000 pounds of cheese, of which Canada supplied 173,000,000 pounds or 60 per cent. The total value of British imports of dairy products was 139,000,000 pounds sterling. Is there not ample room here for the expansion of our cheese and butter factories? We met the British market without a preference; a little preference would do us no harm—5 per cent. might represent the absolute profit on the transaction.

In addition to this preference as to what might be called raw material Mr. Chamberlain proposes a preference of 10 per cent. on colonial manufactures. Notwithstanding the large output of our own industries, Britain imported last year 99,000,000 pounds sterling of manufactured goods, mostly from

France, Germany and the United States. That is one hundred million dollars more than all our exports and imports put together. Would it not be an advantage to us if our manufacturers, whose exports last year amounted to \$20,000,000, would have such a preference in the British market as would enable them to replace the goods now purchased from the countries I have mentioned? Unless the Canadian manufacturer looks abroad for an opening for his products he is in danger at any time of finding his home market fully occupied. The time will come when Canada is ten times the manufacturing country it is to-day and the sooner it comes the better.

While our first duty is to Canada, we owe a duty to the Empire which cannot be overlooked if we fully realize our obligations as one of the greatest colonies of the Empire, and for that reason I favor Mr. Chamberlain's policy, first, because its object is to increase trade within the Empire.

Canada imported last year manufactured goods from the United States to the value of \$60,000,000. It would be a patriotic thing to purchase these goods from Great Britain, instead of the United States, which is a foreign country to us politically. The British Empire covers every zone and has thus within it raw material of every industry. She will soon be growing her own cotton and a collapse, such as occurred to the Lancashire mills during the civil war, will be impossible. Why not federate these industries and secure to the colonies and the Empire the profits of their interchange among themselves as the United States secures by its federation with its own people the profits of the interchange of its great industries?

Secondly, I favor the policy because it adds commercial interest to the national sentiment which binds the Empire. This is not a sordid aim. Commercial interests make for peace between foreign nations. On the eve of every great war statesmen consider the commercial effect that war will produce. Germany has federated thirty-six provinces into a national unit. Cavour did the same for Italy. The United States has become a great federation. Confederation removed the barriers between all the Provinces of Canada. And now there comes upon the stage another federation—on a stage so high that all the world can look at it and see that the policy of the Imperialist—the true Imperialists, I do not mean the jingo—is so to federate the British colonies that the British Empire will be as self-contained on commercial grounds as on sentimental grounds.

I also favor Mr. Chamberlain's policy because I believe it will prevent entangling alliances with the American republic. Our experience so far with the Americans has not been very satisfactory. Since Mr. Chamberlain has declared himself in favor of a preference to the colonies the Americans have begun to show considerable anxiety for renewing reciprocal trade relations with us. I have not quite forgotten the reasons why the reciprocity treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854 was so summarily repealed in 1866. Neither is my judgment closed to the hostile character of the Dingley bill, by which the American market was practically closed against the Canadian manufacturers and farmers. In my judgment the commerce of Canada should never be

placed at the mercy of the United States Congress or of any other competing nation. We have adapted our transportation now to British trade. To enter into a reciprocity treaty with the United States would be depending upon the humor of our American neighbors and would be to discount all this expenditure. Commercially I cannot bring myself to look with favor upon a reciprocity treaty under existing circumstances with a people who have specifically framed a tariff for our injury. Had our products been declared contraband they could scarcely have been shut out more fully.

For instance, our total exports of cattle last year amounted to 171,809 head, of which only 5,699 were sold to the United States. Our exports of butter amounted to 34,128,944 pounds, of which only 50,745 pounds went to the United States. Our total exports of cheese amounted to 229,099,925 pounds, of which only 56,676 went to the United States. Our exports of barley amounted to 947,012 bushels, of which 37,112 bushels went to the United States. Our exports of flour amounted to 1,287,766 barrels, of which only 18,940 went to the United States. In manufactures the discriminating effects of the tariff against Canada are equally striking. For instance, of agricultural implements we sold \$2,284,904 worth, of which \$29,468 worth went to the United States. Of India rubber manufactures we exported \$142,891 worth, of which \$6,556 went to the United States. Of leather, we exported \$2,169,015 worth, of which only \$18,836 worth went to the United States. Of household furniture we sold \$359,062 worth, of which only \$14,754 worth went to the United States. Of doors, sashes and blinds we exported \$331,959 worth, of which only \$22,296 worth went to the United States. Of typewriting machines we exported 3,024 machines, of which only 29 machines were sold in the United States. Of organs we sold 6,290, only 107 of which went to the United States. Of bicycles we sold 4,206, of which only 94 went to the United States.

Taking up the exports of Canada in bulk I find that Britain now takes \$125,000,000 worth or about 60 per cent. of the entire exports of Canada, whereas the United States, although our nearest neighbor takes only 30 per cent., or \$67,000,000 worth. Does it not appear the proper thing, partly because of our Imperial relations and partly because of the extent of the British market, that we should direct our energies towards meeting its requirements rather than towards framing a treaty with a nation who has treated us with undoubted harshness in commercial matters and on whose commercial good will we cannot depend? I prefer to establish channels of trade with Great Britain, which I believe will be permanent. Where your treasure is there your heart will be also. All we have to do is to enter in and possess it with Britain's assistance. In the United States we would be under a bond, and I decline myself to assume or to accept any policy that will place the trade of Canada at the mercy of Congress or at the mercy of a rival nation. England would have no object in changing the channels of her trade, but, having established trade relations with her colonies, it would be to her interest to maintain them. If the United States want any of our products, let them remove the duty as we have done with corn, coal and cotton. If they want our barley, let them take the 30

cents a bushel off. It is as simple as ABC. If they are so anxious for reciprocity, let them begin by taking down some of these barriers. Better bring forth fruit meet for repentance.

There is but one other point to be considered. It is objected that the preference of 33 1-3 per cent. offered freely to Great Britain is a menace to our own industries. I do not think this objection applies to any great extent. The complaint that comes with greatest force is from the manufacturers of woollen goods. In their case I am advised there is a hardship, but, even if that were so, is it not a hardship that could be easily overcome? We have grappled in Canada with far greater problems than the adjustment of a tariff affecting a single industry. Surely it cannot be said that the Parliament that built the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Intercolonial Railway and has extended confederation to the Pacific coast and has shown itself capable of governing successfully half a continent is unable to settle the complaints of the woollen manufacturers in such a way as to do them justice.

I would like all Canadians to lift their heads into the purer atmosphere where they may have a clear vision of the whole field, so that they will be able to see a large question like this in its relations not only to Canada, but in its relation to Australia and to New Zealand, and to view the nation in its relation to the future trade which we will build up by the same sturdy muscle and energy which we have employed in the development of Canada up to the present time.

(December 7)

By W. F. COCKSHUTT

Mr. W. F. Cockshutt of Brantford, continuing the discussion at the luncheon on December 7, said that the problem now before the British people was one of the most important in the memory of man. The repeal of the corn laws sixty years ago affected only the British Isles, but the present agitation was of vital interest to the whole British people. There were rumors of an early Dominion election and whether it would take place within two months or not for a year, the most important question before the Canadian people would be the British fiscal question, and towards that issue every candidate should be asked to state his attitude. On the final outcome of that issue the future of the British Empire rested.

Great Britain had now before her two propositions, one made by Mr. Balfour and one by Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Balfour proposed protection for the purposes of retaliation on foreign nations. Mr. Chamberlain proposed protection not only on this account but also for the benefit of the colonies. The ex-Colonial Secretary had made the charge that the British people had been kind to strangers and neglectful of their own kin. It was not that the British people had been ungenerous or unmindful, but because their policy would not permit them to aid their brethren beyond the seas. In vain had the colonies extended their hands for help. Britain with her free trade policy

had been unable to extend any aid. Trade had much to do for Empire, and unless Mr. Chamberlain's policy was carried into effect we would have an Empire united in name but disunited in trade. For years Canada had nominally given her loyalty to Great Britain and her trade to the United States.

The adoption of the Chamberlain policy was necessary for Great Britain herself, and this was the ground taken by Mr. Balfour. The hopes of the original free traders that universal peace and prosperity would follow the adoption of their policy had been disappointed. Britain's commercial position during the past fifty years was entirely analogous to that of the Dutch Republic in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Holland at that time became the distributing centre of the world, a result accomplished under a free trade policy. The Dutch owned 15,000 out of 20,000 ships in the world's carrying fleet, and their merchants dealt in every land. But the inevitable happened. The other nations became jealous. They coveted the Dutch trade and they built up tariff barriers against it. And the Dutch Republic, under the most ultra free trade policy the world has ever seen, had tottered on to ruin and decay. If Great Britain persisted in her present policy her ruin would be inevitable and far-reaching. The history of the Dutch Republic, the supremacy of which was commercial rather than industrial, proved it. Free trade held out more inducements to commercial than to industrial trade, and Britain claimed to be both a commercial and industrial country. If she adopted protection her mercantile interests might suffer some, but her industrial interests would be immensely benefited.

The British market should be treated as an asset and not as a liability. In that connection Great Britain was making her primal mistake. The free traders told us that we should buy in the cheapest market, regardless of where it was. No man in business would dare to do that. Imagine a man advising his wife to go to his rival's store to buy goods because they were advertised at cheaper prices than he could sell at. He would be furnishing his rival with capital that should be his, and with a weapon that would eventually work his downfall. If England went on buying in the cheapest markets outside herself she could not long remain in the position of the middleman, because the other nations, instead of buying from England, would buy direct from the manufacturing nation. Then the other side of the motto, "Sell in the dearest market," was all knocked on the head because England was kept out of those markets by high tariffs.

Reciprocity, independence, present relations and closer union within the Empire all had their advocates, and on the choice between these proposals depended the future of the Empire. Great Britain's future depended on her colonies. Mr. Chamberlain had grasped the true spirit of Empire when he said that we must bring all the colonies into a stable commercial union. We had been told that a tariff war would be the inevitable result of the introduction of such a policy. But what could Germany, the United States and the other countries do that they had not already done? These powers needed the British market and would have to take steps to retain it if a protective duty were imposed. A

tariff against foreign goods would give the Empire a handle by which she could negotiate with other countries. Rather than a tariff war the adoption of the policy would lead to a rapprochement among the nations and thus it might come about that protection would be the short road to free trade. Mr. Cockshutt said that he claimed to be only a moderate protectionist. He did not wish to see our tariff wall as high as those of some other countries, but it was the duty of every Government to see to it that its own people were looked after first. Variety of employment, one requisite of national greatness, could best be secured by moderate protection. Britain had gained her pre-eminence in trade during protection. To-day Britain was still leading, but her lead was much reduced. Britons could do what the men of any other nation could do, but to subject firms and individuals to the organized competition of nations was to submit them to what they could not stand. The people of Great Britain were now feeling the squeeze of their own doctrines. The other nations had taken her at her word. Her people were getting their goods cheap, but they were destroying their own trade.

The products of the United States and Canada were so similar that our manufacturers would certainly suffer a great deal more from a tariff arrangement with that country than by a similar arrangement with the mother land. The Americans were our greatest competitors. As to independence, it was safer to be part of a great Empire than to be the whole of a small nation. Let Canadians stick to the old mother who gave them birth, and let them cast in their lot with her. Mr. Chamberlain was the statesman who had risen to take occasion by the hand to strengthen Great Britain and to unify the Empire. After his policy was in operation it would then be time for the United States to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the whole British Empire.

(December 11)

BY PROF. ADAM SHORTT, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON

On December 11 the Club held its first evening meeting of the season, with Prof. Shortt as the chief speaker. After his address on Mr. Chamberlain's tariff proposals the discussion was continued by several members of the Club. Prof. Shortt said it might be well for him to define at the outset his personal position, which was that he was a Britisher all the way back, and a Scotchman at that. At the close of his university course in this country, he had chosen the colleges in Great Britain for his post-graduate work in preference to those of the United States, because he believed that in Great Britain he would come into touch with higher standards of civilization. He was convinced now that his choice had been a correct one. In his vacations he had tramped the British islands and made himself thoroughly acquainted with them. He had studied British models of statesmanship, and, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had found that these presented the finest models in the world. He had the highest admiration for Britain. He had the deepest loyalty for Britain. If he

were not an enthusiastic Imperialist it was because he did not agree with the kind of Imperialism most common nowadays. It was not sufficiently in touch with the highest British standards, but was based rather on material and sordid interests.

Economically Britain was not so much in advance of other nations as she might appear to be. Notwithstanding her great success in business, trade was not her strongest point. The British had not trained themselves for business so accurately as many other nations, for example, Germany and the United States. Their superiority was on a higher plane, and their very success in trade and industry was but an incident of their larger view of life. It was exemplified in their great men, and his best hope for the Canadian people was that they should study and follow the models afforded by renowned English statesmen.

Coming directly to Mr. Chamberlain's ideas, it was very difficult to say just what they were. He had followed his various utterances, as reported in the London Times, and had found that they changed from week to week. It was characteristic of Mr. Chamberlain that he is a difficult man to nail down to details. Mr. Shortt said he was not criticizing Mr. Chamberlain's policy from an insular point of view, but from the Imperial standpoint he believed that it was open to much criticism. He could not agree with many who seemed to think that to put one's self in touch with Mr. Chamberlain was to put one's self in touch with the core of the Empire, and with its best thought.

Mr. Balfour in his pamphlet on "Insular Free Trade" and Mr. Chamberlain in his various speeches agreed as to retaliation, and the protection of British interests.

Their first position was that Britain was economically on the down grade, and that unless drastic measures were resorted to, she would in a few years find herself in serious financial, industrial and fiscal distress. But from his study of the blue book, recently issued, on British trade for the last half century, and from his study of the monthly and annual fiscal and trade returns, Mr. Shortt was compelled to dispute this assumption.

The truth is that Britain is not going back, but other nations are, in their natural development, creeping up on her. These nations, however, in times of crisis suffer much more distress than does Britain. A year ago, speaking before this Club, he had prophesied continued prosperity for the opening year, and he believed that that statement had been borne out. Looking ahead now for a few years he could see more trouble coming for the United States than for Great Britain. The United States have come to a position where the manufacturers of the country are equipped to make an enormous output, far beyond the needs of the normal market. This means that they must receive a considerable set-back, which, however, would not be as great as under former conditions, owing to the new organization of industry with its wonderful control of output. An example of the remarkable organization of finance and industry that has been reached, has been given in the great drop in speculative values in the past six months, without anything approaching a panic. In spite of this,

the United States is likely to go through a period of depression and Canada cannot expect to escape altogether, because in our financial affairs we are so intimately connected with the United States.

Great Britain will suffer, but not to the same extent as other countries, and her sufferings will come as usual not so much on account of anything within herself as because of her investments in other countries and her extensive trade relations with them. There was some truth, therefore, in the statements of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain as to hard times ahead ; but in the manner of politicians the world over, they had presented only the half truth. That might do for politicians, but it would not do for economists.

Britain could not expect to retain the great lead she had obtained in the past. In the first place her natural resources were limited. In the second place her lead had been due more to the backwardness of other nations than to any inherent superiority in her own conditions. At a time when other nations were still retarded by militarism and their political rigidity, Great Britain, because of her greater freedom and the greater elasticity of her political system, had been able to devote herself more extensively to industry and to forge ahead.

Free traders had made mistakes. They had expected that Britain would be able to hold her relative lead and manufacture for the world. This was an impossibility. Her competitors were potentially as competent workmen as were the British, while in several cases their resources were greater. The resources of Germany were greater than those of Britain, and the resources of Russia were unlimited. Russia was the coming nation in the world to-day.

The period chosen by Mr. Chamberlain as representative of British trade in the past, was not a normal period. From 1870 to 1875 German and French industry was stagnant, but trade was brisk and prices abnormally high, hence the inflated statistics. When these and other European countries began their modern development, they looked to Great Britain as teacher, and drew on her for machinery and supplies. This had caused a great expansion of British trade. These countries have now learned in a few years from Great Britain what it had taken her a great many years to learn for herself. The question of values was also important. The average value of a given quantity of goods, in the period chosen by Mr. Chamberlain as his starting point for comparisons, was 120, as compared with 80 now. This was an example of how Mr. Chamberlain followed the politician's method and stated half truths.

Mr. Chamberlain had persuaded great numbers that something must be done to find new markets. In his search he turned to the colonies. He found that Canadian trade with the Empire was not increasing in as great proportions as that of smaller colonies. But this was not because, as Chamberlain had said, Canada was becoming estranged, but because it was more advanced than the other colonies. Chamberlain and Balfour in their public utterances both seemed to regret that the colonies had ever been allowed to go extensively into manufacturing. This implied a desire on their part to return to the old colonial policy. British statesmen had done all they could to prevent

the new colonial departure. The revenue tariff for Canada proposed in 1859 by Mr. Galt had been threatened with disallowance, because it put impediments in the way of trade with the Empire. The same objection had been raised against the Canadian tariff of 1878, and Sir John A. Macdonald had been forced to answer "So much the worse for British connection." Canada would never have been the country it is had it not followed an independent line of development. Mistakes have doubtless been made, but it is better that Canada should make its own mistakes, as they are more readily corrected.

What, then, can we do to meet Mr. Chamberlain in his desire for a larger colonial market? In answering this question Canadians should be self-respecting towards themselves and honest towards Britain. They should have more self-respect than to blindly fall down and worship Mr. Chamberlain or anyone else who comes along with a scheme to renovate the Empire. It is a scheme, too, which has been tried and discarded. Progress is forward, not backward. Anything detrimental to Canada cannot be beneficial to the Empire. We cannot, therefore, undertake to curtail our varied expansion. The British workman cannot be kept in work or the British exporter in business by the Canadian market, unless Canada is allowed to develop in its natural way, just as Germany and France have developed. One cannot but observe that Britain treats these countries with greater respect than she does the colonies. Again, Britain fears and honors Canada more than she does the other colonies, largely because of the good fortune Canada has had in her representatives visiting Britain, such as Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He would feel humiliated to be a citizen of New Zealand, represented by Richard Seddon, who, during the Colonial Conference in London, had given utterance to such ridiculous nonsense regarding British trade and other matters as to make of himself a laughing stock among the British people. Now Canada could not afford to put herself back to the position of New Zealand or even Australia. Our lead had been obtained by the development of our varied resources and no nation could be strong by the development of any one interest. A country could not be great which was only one large rural district, and whose inhabitants were cut off from great intellectual centres. Therefore, we could not meet the request that we should curtail our normal development and devote ourselves to supplying food or other raw materials and limit our manufacturing to primary industries.

Considering next the preferences on food supplies offered us in return. The question of the incidence of the grain tax was a very intricate problem. There were two possible extremes. The foreigner might pay all the duty imposed by Britain, in which case the price would not be raised, and Canadian farmers would not profit. On the other hand, if the British consumer paid the whole duty, Canada would doubtless benefit. It was impossible to state just where between these two extremes the incidence of the tax would rest. Germany had a duty on wheat, of six shillings and five pence, and the average price of wheat had been five shillings and two pence above that in Britain; showing that the consumer had

paid four-fifths of the duty. Similarly it would be found that French consumers had paid two-thirds of the duty, which was much higher than in Germany. Again, Britain never gets her food supply in the same proportion from the various countries, two years running. The source of supply varies according to differences in harvest and climatic conditions. Thus the incidence of the tax would never be the same in two successive years. It was impossible, therefore, to tell what benefit, if any, Canada would obtain from a nominal preference on her grain. It was still more impossible to say how any benefit which did come to Canada would be distributed, and whether any of it would get past the railroads and the grain dealers to the farmers.

Another thing to be considered is that Canadian wheat is a special product. Number one hard is used for mixing with softer and cheaper grain, and the demand for it depends on the quantity and character of the grain received from other sources. If Canada became the granary of the Empire and Britain depended on Canadian grain altogether, it would mean that the price of our grain would fall to the level of the lower grades which it replaced. Again, a bonus of six cents a bushel, even if it all went to the farmers, and if they could distinguish it from the rest of the price, both of which suppositions are impossible, would not fill up the Northwest. It is not six-cent preferences that attract people to a country, for prices fluctuate more than six cents from year to year. The yield per acre, climatic conditions, and the search for homes are the determining factors. This question of immigration gave him considerable anxiety, because in his study of the settlement of the older portions of Canada he had found the character of the locality for all time to be largely determined by that of the original settlers, quite independently of the natural qualities of the district. Some sections had produced a succession of criminals, and others were notorious for poor business methods and careless farming. The "poor whites" of the Southern States and the New England settlers both came from England, but the "poor whites" were brought out according to certain of our modern systems of plantation, while the others came of their own accord. Immigrants attracted by any story of a bonus of six cents a bushel would be mere waifs and strays. The most satisfactory immigrants coming into the country at the present time were those coming from the western States, and they were not attracted by any preference in the British market, but by their knowledge of the good natural prospects of our Northwest. This at the present time was supplemented by the fact that during the present prosperous period they could sell out their old places to advantage. He did not object to Slavs, Hungarians, Poles or Britons of good character who came to the country of their own accord, but he did not like to see it filled up with "poor whites" with low ideals. A great deal had been heard of the Barr colonists who were going to Imperialize the Northwest, but they were the only people who had grumbled. Our Northwest is quite good enough to fill itself. Yet the people in Britain were being told that it would fill up only on a six-cent preference. Had the preference been adopted six years ago our present prosperity and development would be attributed to it, and the natural advantages

of the country ignored. We cannot afford to have future prosperity attributed to Britain's favor, yet that is Mr. Chamberlain's prophecy.

It was said that the manufacturers were backing up Mr. Chamberlain, but what they wanted was much greater advantage for themselves and to allow as much to Britain as she could get out of it. They wanted the tariff wall raised against the States and not lowered at any rate against Britain. But the proposals of the manufacturers would require close examination. The machinery and raw material had mostly to be imported. The plan followed more recently of developing our own resources was on a much firmer basis. Industries established just to catch tariff advantages would ultimately tend to stagnation. With enterprising and flourishing industries, manufacturers might put up the tariff without hurting the Canadian people, for we should be prosperous enough to pay a little more. It was possible, though perhaps not desirable, for five million people to contribute a dollar each and thus make five millionaires. But under prosperous conditions the raising of the tariff would bring in American capital to compete with the manufacturers, who would thus encounter a certain poetic justice.

Probably Canadians should make greater contributions to the defence of the Empire, but this should be done by building up our own militia and marine. We should thus stand in a position to criticize Great Britain, as she is in a position to criticize us. We could go to her assistance when our people thought right and she to ours when her people thought right. But as regards Mr. Chamberlain's scheme what is expected from us is wholly impossible in view of our obvious industrial future. Then the material benefits offered us in return are quite uncertain, while the large and vague assertion that the preference is necessary to fill up our country is a reflection upon the intrinsic merits of the country as unfortunate as it is undeserved.

The true connection in Imperial federation is a spiritual one. The things that make the Britons Britons are the same as those which made the Greeks Greeks. It was not the growing of corn or the moulding of pottery, but the greatness of the men who shaped her policy and rounded her civilization that made Greece notable on the earth. It has been her great men who have ennobled Britain. If we dwell on their achievements, their capacity, their memory and profit by their example, we shall be worthy of them. If we think only of material interests, such as pulp wood and sawlogs and the raising of wheat and regulate our Empire by these we shall be following a scheme of Imperialism that will run us downward and not upward. Trade is trade and Empire is Empire, and history shows that Britain has been most strikingly successful in both when she did not attempt to bind them too closely together, while all other nations have as conspicuously failed in colonial empire by endeavoring to do so.

DISCUSSION BY MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

The discussion was then thrown open to members of the Club. Mr. R. J. Younge was the first speaker, and he paid a high compliment to Prof. Shortt

who, he said, was recognized not only as one of the greatest Canadian economists, but as one of the leading authorities on the continent.

Mr. Younge said that Mr. Chamberlain's proposals embodied the greatest subject before British minds to-day. Imperial Federation has been long spoken of in the British Empire. It has made progress in sentiment only, tariff difficulties apparently proving a stumbling block to the great statesmen who had given their attention to it. The situation, however, generally produces the man, and Mr. Chamberlain has come forward, the first to propose a definite solution for the great question. Prof. Shortt had relegated Mr. Chamberlain to the place of an ordinary politician. So far as Canadians were concerned, we cannot but believe that he, above all other men, has done more to bring about in Great Britain a proper appreciation of the value of her dependencies. In taking his Imperial stand he had even sacrificed his high office in the Cabinet in order that he might continue to advocate his views. Under such circumstances he can fairly be entitled to a place among the statesmen rather than among the politicians, and any proposals which he may have to make should receive, if not the support, the most careful consideration of every Empire-loving Canadian.

The speaker then outlined briefly the proposals of Mr. Chamberlain, and quoted from his Newcastle speech to show in contradiction of the interpretation made by his critics of his Glasgow utterance that the ex-Colonial Secretary did not intend in any preferential measure which might be established to handicap the growth or progress of the colonies. If for an Imperial preference we must pay the price of our industries, that preference will surely be a burden on the Dominion, and will certainly not appeal to the young Canadian of to-day who looks forward with such bright hopes to the development of our great country.

The speaker argued that Mr. Chamberlain's investigations and proposals were not only opportune, but necessary. Three important features were brought forward:

(1) The decline of the Agricultural Industry in Great Britain.

(2) The falling off of British exports to foreign countries, especially when compared with the growth of the export trade of Britain's competitors.

(3) The wonderful increase in British exports to her colonies.

As Canadians, the whole subject was full of interest. It might be taken for granted, however, that Canadians would not be expected to sacrifice their interests at home for the interests of the British industries. A factory in Canada is worth just as much, if not more, to the Empire, than a factory in the Mother land. Great Britain already enjoys a substantial preference in the Canadian market. Her competitors must pay 50 per cent. more duty than she pays. In return for any preference which might be given to Canada, and which should be given under any circumstances, of Great Britain's own free will, Canadians might do even more for the Mother Country than they are doing to-day. Last year we bought from the United States more than twice the amount which we purchased from Great Britain. We owe the United States nothing. Why not close our account with that nation, and buy all the surplus requirements of this growing country from British sources?

Canadians had the proud distinction of being the leaders in the preferential movement; as such, they had taken the first and most important step in Imperial Federation. It was now opportune that Great Britain should speak, and that Canada should listen. Mr. Chamberlain might be considered to have won already the colonies in the general outline of his proposals. It remained for him to win the conservative minds of Great Britain. With a policy, however, inspired by desires for British self-defence, for the improvement of the British workman, for the equalization of conditions under which British manufacturers must compete with the world, for the growth and development of the colonies, and for the establishment of the greatest Empire which the world has even seen, a policy finally proved to be not impracticable, the prospects for success were very bright.

The speaker of the evening had deprecated any Imperial union which might be inaugurated through, or depend upon, commercial ties. No doubt that was the ideal condition; but, after all, might it not be possible that, through the material conditions of trade relations, the door might be opened into that higher atmosphere which needs no other bond of unity than that of British brotherhood?

Mr. N. W. Rowell, continuing the discussion, said: Without doubt, Canadians would gladly welcome a preference in the British markets, if given either as an evidence of good-will on the part of the people of Britain, or because the people of Britain believe such a fiscal arrangement to be in their own interests or in the larger interests of the Empire. A preference, under these conditions, would undoubtedly still further consolidate and strengthen the Empire, but to suggest that some special privileges to the colonies in the British market are necessary to preserve the integrity of the Empire, and that unless these privileges are granted, the Empire will fall to pieces, is in my humble judgment a grievous misunderstanding of the real thought and sentiment of the colonies toward the mother land, and to discuss preferential trade on this basis is to raise an entirely false issue.

The loyalty of the people of Canada is not dependent upon six cents per bushel on wheat or any other pecuniary consideration of like character. It springs from the devotion and attachment of the people of Canada to the ideas and institutions for which the British Empire stands, and if the people of Great Britain knew the American people as well as we do in Canada, they certainly would not permit the possibility of annexation to trouble them for one moment.

In considering the question of preferential trade within the Empire, we should thoroughly understand and frankly face the difficulties of the situation, for there could be no greater strain on Imperial ties than that either Great Britain or her colonies should find themselves parties to an agreement or understanding of which they could thereafter truthfully say they did not thoroughly understand or appreciate its effect.

Two main difficulties confront us. The first one is: What will Britain require in return for the preference which she is prepared to give? In what-

ever form the matter may be stated by Mr. Chamberlain, or those associated with him, the object they all have in view undoubtedly is to largely increase their market for manufactured products in Canada and the other colonies of the Empire, and it is with a view of purchasing this larger market that they propose to give Canada and the other colonies a preference in return in the British market. The idea of the Canadian manufacturers and producers, on the other hand, is not only to supply our own home market, but to compete with the British manufacturers in England and the markets of the world, and with that idea we all sympathize. Their attitude toward the British manufacturers may be fairly stated: "What we don't want, you can have," and what they do not want is a rapidly diminishing quantity. These two commercial ideas, British and Canadian, are directly opposed to each other, and unless the view of either one side or the other is substantially modified, no arrangement satisfactory to both sides can be made.

Second. As the present agitation in England has another and very definite object in view, viz., to place in the hands of the British Government the power of commercial retaliation as against foreign countries, with a view of forcing better trade relations with them, it logically follows that in any arrangement which Great Britain would make with her colonies, she must reserve to herself the right to make such arrangements as she considers in her own interests with all other countries with which she deals. With that reservation Canadians cannot seriously quarrel, because in any preferential arrangement they would make with the mother land, they would undoubtedly desire to reserve to themselves the right to control their own tariff as against all other countries. It would, therefore, appear that the only practicable arrangement is an arrangement during the pleasure of both the contracting parties.

This gives rise to a third difficulty. If this arrangement is carried into effect in Great Britain as the result of a party vote against the active and aggressive opposition of a strong and influential section of the British people, who feel that the arrangement is inimical to the best interests of the people of Britain, and that they are being unnecessarily and possibly unjustly taxed to support the colonies, we must expect a strong and aggressive agitation for the repeal of the arrangement, and possibly one or more electoral contests fought on that issue. Such an agitation and such a contest might prove a severe strain on those ties of sentiment and affection which now bind so closely together the colonies and the mother land. What is true of Great Britain is also true of Canada. If in order to meet the views of the British manufacturers, concessions were made on the part of Canada, which a large section of the Canadian people considered to be a sacrifice of Canadian interests, a similar agitation would undoubtedly be carried on with, no doubt, similar results.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the agitation for annexation in 1846 and succeeding years, supported as it was by leading mercantile men in Montreal and the east, largely had its origin in the repeal of the preference which the Canadians at that time enjoyed in the British market, and the repeal of the navigation laws, which operated as a preference in favor of Canadian shipping.

The best ties of Empire are the ties of sentiment, strong, deep and abiding and the only fiscal preferential arrangement which would strengthen these ties is one that would carry with it the sentiment, not of a section, but of the great mass of the people both of the colonies and the mother land.

Mr. W. E. Rundle also took part in the discussion. He advanced the opinion that Britain is not losing ground in the race of the nations to the extent that some writers and speakers have affirmed. In support of this statement, he quoted official figures respecting the shipping returns of Britain and other nations.

Prof. Shortt again spoke briefly before the meeting adjourned.

At the luncheon on December 14, the discussion was continued by Mr. Frank Arnoldi, K.C., who said: "While enjoying the privilege of hearing the very instructive address delivered to the club by Professor Shortt the other evening I was led to think of the true point at which our interest here attached to the tariff reform discussion which is now engrossing the attention, not alone of the people of Great Britain, but of the whole mercantile world. The conclusions at which the learned professor arrived did not seem to me to be necessarily connected with the very interesting results of investigations of his own into conditions in this country, in the relation of which he carried many of his hearers into regions of thought to which they were comparative strangers. The Professor and the other speakers that evening seemed to take in hand in their conclusions the decision of the great questions involved in the matter of tariff reform in the old land. Can we undertake here to discuss that question so as to arrive at its solution? Most of the discussions we hear mainly consist of the advocacy on one side of doctrines such as are to be gathered from the Manchester Guardian or its following, which the other side as readily answers by the views of the London Daily Telegraph and those papers which support its views. It would seem that those great questions must be fought out in Great Britain, while our position is that of keenly-interested spectators of this battle of the giants. We cannot undertake to speak of the rights and wrongs in that discussion. Our point of interest lies in the result of the contest. Mr. Chamberlain's success involves at least for us a consideration of our relations with the mother country, but it involves also our relations with the Empire. The negation of Mr. Chamberlain's contentions means a policy of *laissez faire*. In that case nothing will be authoritatively undertaken to deal with the vast and intricate questions which the greatness of the Colonial Empire gives rise to. The forces of disintegration will be left to work uncontrolled, with what result no one can foretell, while we all must feel apprehensive that the outcome will not be in furtherance of that great unification of the Empire, which we all, whether we are called protectionists or free traders, so devoutly wish for.

The question of tariff reform is of vital importance locally to Great Britain, and is necessarily inseparable from the subject of preferential treatment of the Colonies by the Mother Country, and of the Mother Country by the Colonies—and necessarily also is inseparable from the questions of the trade relations of every part of the Empire with every other part.

The difficulties of carrying out the policy in these several respects does not—it ought not—to be any reason for opposing the vigorous campaign of Mr. Chamberlain, which makes for attaining these objects. We require the attainment of the objects he seeks. It is for our best interests that they should be arrived at. Our interests then lie in giving to his propaganda all the support we can. Let us tell him and the English people even more strongly than we have done that we are ready when they are, to have mutual preferences in trade and by working together as far as possible to make the ties not only with the Mother Country, but between all parts, so strong that the full strength of the British Empire may be developed and its perpetuation be ensured. We have the vast resources of this country to develop—we must increase our markets for our products; we must invite capital; we must invite population. We must do everything which an enterprising people with a rich heritage should do. For all this we will receive definite aid from the closer relations between the constituents of the Empire, while that safety which the Empire will throw around every part will be ours. No longer to be endangered by any weakness of the Imperial relation, and not liable to the accidents to which the Canadian Confederation may be exposed under the conditions which would prevail if Mr. Chamberlain should not succeed in what he is now seeking to bring about.

Mr. J. E. Atkinson, following Mr. Arnoldi, expressed his agreement with nearly all that had been said in the course of the discussion. He inclined to the belief, however, that much of the speeches would have had more practical value, although they scarcely could have been more interesting, if delivered to an English audience, rather than to a Canadian. The conversion of Canadians to a belief in a protective tariff upon foreign food stuffs, in favor of colonial, was indeed a matter of some difficulty, but when effected would have an important bearing upon Mr. Chamberlain's success. As for Canadians, on the other hand, they were perfectly agreeable to taking Mr. Chamberlain's policy as it affected the English consumer, without a great deal further proof than is supplied by Canada's perfectly obvious self-interest. If England can be brought to give us a preference of 6 cents a bushel on wheat and 10 per cent. on bacon and our dairy products, not many speeches would be necessary to persuade us to accept it. The real interest of the Chamberlain policy when the time shall come will be as to whether we are willing in this country to pay the price which will quite naturally be expected in return for what we receive. To this side of the problem speakers have not given much of their attention. Some deliverances there have been by Canadian organizations. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has extended its official good wishes to Mr. Chamberlain. Representing the manufacturers, it has assured the English public that they are heartily in favor of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. These are the same manufacturers, however, who in a pronouncement they issued for purely Canadian use, demand that the Canadian tariff be increased so that British goods which now enter this country and successfully compete with our own products shall be met with a higher wall of customs duties than at present. In view of this, is it not fair to enquire whether the best attitude for Canadians to pursue toward the agitation now going on in

England is one of frankness toward Englishmen and of examination into our own willingness to meet Mr. Chamberlain in a spirit of fair and above board bargaining. Imperial sentiment cannot be too highly encouraged nor too highly valued, nor can it be more basely used than in seeking under its influence to lead English workmen into an entirely unwarranted reliance upon Canadian sentiment. If the English consumer is lead by our representations to consent to tax his food stuffs for our advantage, upon the representation that we in return are disposed to buy more of his manufactures than we do at present, it will not contribute either to unity of the Empire or our own self-respect. He, for one, Mr. Atkinson declared, had no wish to use the Union Jack as a cover under which to put his hand into John Bull's pocket. He appealed, therefore, for forbearance on the part of Canadians in facing the only part of the problem with which they have to do. If Canadian sentiment is such that we are determined that less, rather than more, British goods are to be allowed to enter Canada upon terms which permit their competition with our own industries, it is surely true that every instinct of honesty and every requirement is outraged by a course of conduct, if any among us are tempted to take it, that would seek to mislead England and trade upon those Imperial aspirations to which Mr. Chamberlain is appealing.

Mr. P. W. Ellis continued as follows:—I will notice two statements made by the last speaker, namely, that he would favor the import duty being lowered to a point that would make the Canadian manufacturer fight for his life. The Canadian manufacturer is already doing so. He is handicapped in favor of the British manufacturer by being obliged to pay fully 40 per cent. higher wages to his employees, and has only an average protection of 18 per cent. Being on the spot and knowing the needs of the market, is assisting us to overcome this difference. A lowering of the duty could only be equalized by lowering the wages of the Canadian working man. No Canadian would advocate any policy that would lower the scale of living of the Canadian workingman to that of his foreign competitor. The other statement, "What does Canada offer in return for the preference proposed to be extended to the Colonies." Does the speaker overlook the preference already given. Will we place the British people in the position of being more thankful for what they will receive than for what they have already received? During the past five years of the Canadian preference \$15,000,000 duties have been rebated upon British goods entering Canada, and yet so lightly does indirect taxation press upon our people that I venture to say not one person present realizes he is purchasing any article of his daily necessities one cent cheaper in consequence, yet it has had the effect of transferring to British merchants a large trade that formerly went elsewhere, and this condition will be more pronounced as the Britisher becomes better acquainted with the advantages within his reach. Were we at present in the position of not having extended a preference and the speaker were to ask "What are you prepared to give?" and Canada should reply, "We will tax foreign goods 50 per cent. higher than yours, not by adding to their taxation, but by removing one-third of yours," I am sure he would characterize that as a handsome offer. The Hon. Joseph

Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary is familiar with the effect of the preference given by Canada—the good that has resulted to the British manufacturer. He wishes that conditions were more general. He is willing that the mother country should reciprocate ; but, instead of trying to obtain a speedy deliverance in the House of Parliament, he resigns his honorable position in the Cabinet, invites the thinking minds of Great Britain to the study of this important proposition, and in this campaign of education has given rise to the most important controversy of our time. I maintain that he is entitled to our cordial assistance, that we should not criticize his statements in the spirit of opposition, but rather with a sincere desire to search the true policy in the interests of the Empire as a whole. I do not think that we should try to pin him to statements made in Glasgow when he maintains that he was misreported or misunderstood, and correct the misapprehension in a later speech at Tynemouth. Realizing that his campaign is one of education, we must be willing to expect his and our views to alter in the light of information. Chamberlain does not pretend to have a perfect plan prepared. He is both seeking and giving information. A British workingman has been reported as saying this whole matter could be easily settled—"Let the British workingman work sixty hours a week, instead of fifty, and accept an average weekly wage of 25s. instead of 40s., and the difficulty is overcome," but what a settlement. Is this the settlement prosperous Britain should make? Let me give you briefly an example of what has been brought to Mr. Chamberlain's attention in all lines of industry daily. Upon his Liverpool platform stood a prominent gentleman, the chief shareholder in a company producing articles similar in all respects to those produced by a United States company. Taking 100 of these articles as being worth £1 each, the United States company sell in their own country 90 at £1 each, and dump into Great Britain 10 at 10s., realizing upon the 100 the sum of £95. Owing to the ten being dumped upon the British market at 10s. each, the British company is forced to sell the entire 100 at 10s. each, and realize but £50. The British manufacturer must submit to this unfair competition, and are unable to retaliate, and are slowly but surely being forced to the wall. Is it surprising that Mr. Chamberlain in his earnestness should charge other nations with stealing the trade of Great Britain, is it surprising that he should address the British electors in such words as "How long will you lie down?" Not only has Great Britain a preference in our own market, but we are cordial customers, willing to give her manufacturers and merchants the preference in all our dealings, and every business man in this vast audience understands the enormous advantage it is to have a cordial customer.

The effect of raising the duty in Canada has been to cheapen the cost of goods to the consumer. It has encouraged the investment of Canadian capital, the employment of Canadian young men, and those who are satisfied to purchase Canadian-made goods pay no duty. Those, however, who prefer the product of foreign countries do pay more, and so they should, but the duty paid is not lost ; it still remains ours, and is expended in the development of our grand country.

(V)

(December 21)

The Duty of the Province toward the Provincial University

BY W. T. WHITE

Mr. White, referring to the practical utility of universities, asked what store of actual wealth could be weighed in the balance against the material economic importance of the discoveries of mathematics, physics, chemistry and mineralogy and suggested that possibly, to-day behind college walls experiments might be going on fraught with great practical consequences to the race. In this Province we had manufacturing industries requiring the highest technical skill and great quantities of mineral ores requiring only the touch of improved scientific processes. Our dairy business and our packing houses had been made immensely more profitable by the laboratory and its methods. Technical education had added millions to Germany's wealth, was the glory of the United States, and now through it England was by lavish expenditure seeking to regain lost ground.

Admitting that there are men who without a university education, but with great natural endowment, force of character and desire for information had not allowed themselves to rest until they took rank as highly educated men,—that was no argument against methodic university education. It only meant that some men hindered from crossing by the bridge had strength enough to breast the stream. Again, although there were graduates to whom the college training had been a positive damage, the fact remained that for the best students no course of training is quite the equal of a university course in arts under proper instructors for enlightening the mind, strengthening its faculties or developing its powers.

As a practical question, was it not, Mr. White asked, of importance that teachers who instructed our sons and daughters in the high schools should be men of scholarship, refinement and character. Could we dispense with the highest intellectual training for our judges? Statistics showed that in the medical profession the greatest percentage of successes have been made by men who have arts degrees. In the future, statesmen and great political orators will be more largely drawn from college graduates, as already is the case in Great Britain and the United States. Who could estimate the influence of Oxford in the public counsels of Great Britain? The greatest orator in Canada to-day whose peer scarcely exists among the English-speaking race, this French-Canadian Premier of ours, is in the last analysis a man of books and learning and what a power is his!

Besides the economic and intellectual aspects of higher education, there was its moral and social influence. University students get the past and men at second hand from the books. They get the present and men at first hand from their companionships.

Mr. White continued: Higher education, then, stands not only for culture and refinement, but for economic, intellectual and moral advantage of the highest kind to the State. What is our plain duty to it and to the Provincial university? To maintain it, as we should any other great national asset, at its highest possible efficiency and not suffer it to lapse into decay. In short, to supply it with proper buildings and equipment, adequate revenues and the best teachers that can be obtained. How are the people of this Province discharging that duty? Badly, I am sorry to say. University education is practically at a standstill. We have not kept pace with the times. We are being out-ranked and out-classed by the least important of our neighboring States and have lost that supremacy which we used to be taught was enjoyed by Ontario in matters educational. Toronto University needs money for new buildings, for equipment, for staff and unless her wants are supplied she must sink to third or fourth rank. Among the new buildings urgently and immediately required is a laboratory with complete equipment estimated to cost \$200,000, for the department of physics, which is at present struggling along under the most discouraging circumstances through lack of proper facilities and accommodation. There are also required a botanical plant house and laboratory, an astronomical observatory, an extension to the library and a central heating and lighting plant such as there is in connection with all modern up-to-date universities. The cost of all these buildings will be approximately \$500,000. The university authorities are also most desirous of starting a department of forestry, which is of the greatest practical consequence to this Province, but for this, at its inception, a staff only will be needed.

As a greatly increased revenue will be needed for proper maintenance of these buildings and departments, I wish to call your attention to the present income of our university and compare it with that of some of our neighbors. The estimated cost of administration of University and University College for the year ending June 30th, 1904, is \$193,113, of which \$56,000 will be derived from fees, \$51,872 from endowment and \$85,241 from the Government. For the year ending the 31st of December last the cost of administration of the School of Practical Science was \$37,539, of which \$20,059 was received in fees and the balance, \$17,480, from the Government. The total contribution of the Government is, therefore, about \$100,000 per year. I have communicated with the President of the University of Michigan and find that that university received from the State Treasury for the year ending June 30th last the sum of \$559,835.03, of which about \$400,000 is revenue and the balance for buildings and repairs. The President of the University of Minnesota wires me that that State, which is less populous and less wealthy than Ontario, has given \$200,000 to her university for the year, and on the arts side alone \$140,000.

I am advised that for the proper maintenance of the existing staff and buildings and for the new buildings and staff which are urgently needed Toronto University must have an additional revenue of \$100,000, and unless the Government can see its way to erecting the required buildings and supplying this additional revenue the cause of university education must seriously suffer in this Province.

But, say you, where is the money to come from? The Government cannot impose a tax upon cheques or stock transfers. It is limited to direct taxation. Assume this is so. Why should we not resort to direct general taxation for the purpose of the Provincial university when everybody's son may be benefited? It is a public university. Why should it not receive public support? One-tenth of a mill upon the general assessment of Ontario, collected through the municipalities and rendered to the Provincial Treasurer, will just about solve the problem of additional revenue and interest upon the capital expenditure which could be easily and readily financed upon the credit of the Province by an issue of debentures. That is to say, every man assessed upon \$10,000 worth of property would contribute \$1 yearly to the cause of higher education. There is nothing very terrifying about that. The fees at the university cannot be increased, because, by so doing, you would shut out the class from which the flower of university scholarship is, and always has been, drawn in the New World, those of humble means.

But is it necessary to resort to general taxation? Are the special sources exhausted? When not a railway passing through Ontario pays one dollar per annum to the municipalities by way of taxes upon its rolling stock, or its rails or its net earnings. When no bank pays municipal taxes upon its profits. What about a yearly tax upon every mile of electric railway in Ontario, reducing the value of its watered stock not more than a fraction? Or upon the franchise-holding corporations in cities over 50,000 inhabitants adding every year their hidden inside reserves? A tax for university education would not lower their stock a broker's commission on the Exchange. Surely, with such sources of revenue in sight, it should not be necessary for the trustees to go, hat in hand, to have their estimates blue-pencilled and receive the dole with which they are expected to carry on the great purposes of a great university.

So much for money. Now as to men. We must have great teachers, men of intellect, character, individuality and wide sympathies with all the varied interests of their country. The power of appointment is a sacred trust, second in importance to none that I know of. With Governmental exercise of this power it is a marvel that the staff has not long since become disorganized and that it holds, as is an undoubted fact, so many excellent and enthusiastic men. Once let political consideration, Liberal or Conservative, influence either appointment or advancement and a staff must suffer in intellectual and moral tone and ultimately decay. Thence arise wire-pulling, social influence and all the other unworthy devices whereby even good men feel constrained to further their interests with authority. The appointment of staff, their discipline and dismissal should be vested in the Board of Trustees who should be re-

sponsible to the public for the fulfilment of the high trust committed to their charge. Let us give the Trustees sufficient money to employ and retain the best men and let it be known that advancement will be by merit and character only and the Provincial University will soon overcome defects of staff. And I believe this country will produce its own great collegians if only they are given a chance.

I have pointed out the advantages of University education to the individual and its value to the community ; the duty which we owe to the Provincial University as to money and as to men. How shall we bring it about that this duty shall be discharged ? By realizing its importance and assisting to create public opinion in favor of the University. It is only fair to the Government to say that they have been doing much better lately and the new School of Practical Science and the grant to Convocation Hall are the first fruits of a change of heart. Personally, I feel that Mr. Ross realizes fully the importance of University work, but is fearful of out-running public opinion. Mr. Whitney, leader of the Opposition, takes a very sympathetic view of University affairs and will assist and not obstruct the Government in connection with any increased grant. I am satisfied that there are enough men in this hall, always including the great and omnipresent press, to bring it about that neither Government nor Opposition dare refuse or oppose the adequate maintenance of higher education in this Province.

When we do our whole duty and maintain upon a proper basis this University of ours, with its immense practical, intellectual and moral possibilities to this Province, we shall see it in reality as some of us now see it in imagination with its scientific and technical departments powerfully aiding in the development of our magnificent material resources, and on its arts side informing the minds and moulding the character of those destined for the highest places in the nation's life, and feel that the State in honoring education is really but doing honor to herself.

Prof. Wrong of the University of Toronto in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. White bore testimony to the increased interest the Government was taking in the University. He expressed the belief that outside the British Isles, Toronto University with proper support would be second to none.



THE CANADIAN CLUB

OF TORONTO

VOLUME I.

PART II.

(V)

(January 4)

Canadian Immigration

By HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON
Minister of the Interior

At the first luncheon after the New Year Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, was the speaker. He devoted his remarks to a discussion of Canadian immigration and the filling up of the Northwest with settlers. He said:—

The Chairman has told us we have much to talk about and little time in which to speak. I have thought I might best occupy your time by giving a practical idea of the work the Department of Immigration is doing. Every department is subject to political criticism, but I understand this is not a political club. Therefore I will abstain from touching controversial points. I will state facts and leave you to take your own views upon this question. I think the question of immigration—in other words, the acquisition for the Dominion of a producing population and its settlement on the land—is of the utmost importance to the empire. You, gentlemen, conversant with the affairs of empire, know that one of the difficulties which beset us has been the drain upon our young men from south of the boundary line. The Liberals have said this was due to the Conservative policy, and the Conservatives have said vice versa. No doubt, there were faults in both parties, but the real explanation will be found in the motives at the bottom of the movement—the desire of our young men to better their condition. We have always been proud, especially in Ontario, of our high educational system, but one of the results has been that our young men, not finding the place their endeavors entitled them to, have sought other fields. We can only keep them by furnishing them with something to do, and by building up the country in such a way that they may follow their occupations as profitably as in any other land. We have been in the position for a long time of possessing an equipment which enabled us to do business with a larger market than we had. Our main resource has been agriculture, but all cannot follow it, and, unless others find profitable employment, they will leave Canada.

We have tried to enable this country to do business on a large scale, but development has been slow under all Governments. I have been unceasing during the last seven years in trying to grapple with this problem. When I took office I looked over the ground to see where this work could be prosecuted

best, and found it was in the western States. In 1897 we established agencies in Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City and St. Paul, and in a number of minor places; we had between 200 and 300 agents paid by commission, but there were difficulties in the way of our agents which you can hardly realize.

We had a young man who, shortly after his appointment, sent me a telegram that he was coming back to Ottawa. When he came he told me that there was no use in his continuing, that the people did not know even where Canada was. We told him to go home for a holiday and then go back to his post. Six months later he sent another telegram saying that he could make no impression and that he was again coming home. When he came to Ottawa I sent for him and told him that I did not want to get any more telegrams of that kind from him. Well, in six months' time I got another telegram from him. This time he said he had got one family and thought he could get another. In the last five years that man has sent to Canada 5,000 of the best people we have in the west. He sent us 1,500 German-Americans, the very best class of farmers we have.

I could tell you of another case of a man who was sent to Kansas City as our agent there, an active and vigorous man, who had been engaged in the same work with railway and colonization companies. In the first year he was working I do not think he sent one man. He came to Ottawa discouraged, and I sent him back. In the first year after he got a considerable number to come up and see the west. The fact is that there were so many visitors the C.P.R. said they were hauling delegates from there and no one else. That agent formed land clubs, distributed literature and worked in many ways. Last year he shipped 4,000 people to the west.

We organized our work in 1897 and adopted the method which I shall outline to you. In 1897 we had only 712 immigrants from the United States, and that with a staff of eight or nine salaried agents and 200 or 300 men working on commission. The influx continued to be so small that I saw something had to be done, and I authorized advertisements in American papers, which reached 5,700,000 families. We found that the Minnesota Press Associations were in the habit of taking yearly excursions. We arranged one for them, which took them from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and when they got home they could not do less than publish appreciative descriptions of Canada, which we promptly collected in the shape of a book. We sent 100,000 of these to our agents in Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, so that when a man found any fault with Canada we could point him out the answer from his own people. We did the same thing with Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan editors, who are now all on friendly terms with Canada and will publish nothing derogatory about us.

You laughed when I spoke of people not knowing where Canada was. In the summer of 1897 it was impossible to convince farmers over there that we could grow wheat, and we had to exhibit samples in southern Minnesota to convince them that we could. As a result of these and other methods we had, instead of 712 persons coming to us in the year 1898, no less than 49,000 last year.

In Great Britain our work has been of a very difficult character. For many years immigration work there was under the care of the High Commissioner, and was carried on in a semi-diplomatic manner. It was not the fault of the High Commissioner or his officials, who had to work under the conditions under which they were placed. I sent Mr. Smart over there, and had the work reorganized on a purely business basis and placed it under an official who had nothing else to do. He got the names of all the agricultural laborers he could and mailed 1,200,000 copies of a paper on the resources of Canada. You would have thought people would have known all about Canada, but the issue was hardly out before thousands of people wrote for particulars. By advertisements we reached some ten million people, and we placed atlases and maps in the schools of the United Kingdom, reaching the people through the children, which I found the best way of getting at the farming classes. In the coronation arch we had a splendid advertisement. It was said that the King and the Arch were the features of the coronation. There has been a marked improvement in our immigration because of it. We have a handsome office now in Charing Cross, where the clerks begin at 9 and leave at 6 o'clock, and where business is done as promptly as in any office in Toronto. The fittings are Canadian, set up by Canadian workmen, and the office is a standing advertisement to this country, and the way we do business. Last year upwards of 50,000 immigrants came from England, whereas four years ago 42,000 came from all sources. " ,

On the continent we found the work in an unsatisfactory condition also. The European countries are difficult to work because of the hostility of the officials. We decided to work through the North Atlantic Trading Company, an association of steamship agents, who are paid £1 per head for all immigrants of good agricultural or domestic class they bring out. The result of this change has been advantageous, though the increase has not been as great as in England. The class of people which is being sent out is almost entirely agricultural.

The result of all these efforts has been that, while in 1900 we got from all countries 42,500, in the fiscal year of 1903 we got 128,900. Of these 49,488 were from the United States, 41,792 from the United Kingdom, and 37,000 from the continent. For the calendar year of 1903 we got 135,000 people, 30,000 more than the year before. Practically all these go on the land. The cost, of course, was considerable, but you can see how it works out. In 1898 the immigrants from the States cost \$7.77 per head, but only \$3.25 last year, owing to the increase in number. But in considering what it costs to bring these people here, we must not forget the wealth they bring to the country. During the past five years 123,000 came from the United States, who brought in \$18,848,891 in settlers' effects and \$25,000,000 in cash, or a total of \$43,000,000, at a total cost to the department of \$701,000. They included 25,000 heads of families, who at a moderate estimate would in six years be producing \$2,000 worth each, or adding \$50,000,000 to the wealth of Canada yearly.

Mr. Sifton spoke of the founding and development of towns in the Northwest, instancing one business man who last year cleared over \$50,000 from business with the farmers around a town which he had assisted in starting a few years ago. He described also the work of the officials at the landing places in Halifax, Montreal, St. John, Quebec. The immigrants were subjected to careful medical and personal examination, and objectionable characters were sent back at the expense of the shipping companies. Officials accompany them through to Winnipeg and thence on to the places where they decide to locate. That costs about \$200,000 a year, but if these people were not looked after they would not stay in the country. He further pointed out that of the very large immigration of 657,000 to the United States last year, only 13.8 per cent. were of the agricultural class wanted in Canada. He disputed the statement that the free lands in the United States were exhausted; as they had given away more homesteads last year than we had, and held that the continuance of the movement to Canada depended on the continuance of present efforts.

Mr. Sifton said that under his administration there were no passages assisted by the Government, and his experience in the Northwest was that those who had been assisted were of the poorest class. He explained that it was impossible to encourage only farmers with money. It was necessary to have also farm laborers, in order to secure the harvesting of the crops.

I have endeavored, Mr. Sifton concluded, to fulfill the desire expressed to me to come here to say a few words to give you an idea of the method by which this work is being done. I desire to say that in my opinion this is the most important task the Government of Canada has before it at the present time, and that if the Government of which I am a member, or any succeeding Government, is able to fill up the agricultural lands of Canada with a stable, hardy, producing population, and furnish the necessary means of transporting their products to the markets of the world, all the other problems will satisfactorily settle themselves.

Mayor Urquhart, in moving a hearty vote of thanks, referred to the personal case of Mr. Sifton, who as Minister of the Interior at 35 was an inspiration to all young Canadians and an evidence of the career of promise which this country holds out to the world.

(V)

(January 6)

Some Canadian and Imperial Questions

BY HON. J. ISRAEL TARTE AND HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER

On the evening of January 6 Hon. J. Israel Tarte and Hon. George E. Foster were the guests of the Club. Mr. Tarte, in discussing several Canadian and Imperial issues, spoke as follows:—

We are a young and ambitious nation. We are free. In fact, I don't know of any people who are freer. We have the right to administer our own affairs as we like. We are free to go to that extent, and to make our tariffs operate against England. Our resources of all kinds are immense. One hundred million inhabitants could and will eventually find their home in Canada. Within ten years, I believe, Canada will be in a position to supply England, our motherland, with all the wheat and flour she may require.

Our institutions work harmoniously. Racial and religious prejudices are becoming every day more and more—and let us thank God for it—things of the past. We enjoy the blessings of self-government to the fullest possible extent. Our geographical position is a splendid one. We are on the shortest trade route between the purchasing centres of the west and the trade markets of Europe. England could send to-day troops to Asia over Canadian soil quicker than by any other route under the sun. We are destined to be the great route for the trade of the future. What is going to become of us? What has the future in store for us? What are we going to do? Will you permit me to ask you whether it would not be just as well and far better to grapple with these questions than to waste a great deal of our equipment in making paltry parish politics.

You have invited me to express my opinions on the relations between the British colonies, between Canada especially and the motherland. You have invited me, if I understand you correctly, more especially because I am of French-Canadian origin. You are anxious to know the views of my countrymen on the broad questions that are being discussed to-day. It is a privilege to address such a fine audience as the one before me. I am a French-Canadian from bottom to top. I am sure there is no mistake about that. And it is because I am a French-Canadian that I am a devout advocate of closer relations between the different parts of the British Empire. In my long public career I have been branded with many brands and marks. During the last few months I have been branded in my own Province by some of my friends, as the servant, as the valet of Mr. Joe Chamberlain, because forsooth, I have taken the opportunity of saying publicly that I approve of his preferential views. I belonged for six and a half years to the Government that initiated the

preferential policy, if I may call it so, and it came to my mind that there could be no great harm for this country or for the other British colonies if the English people would give us some advantage, some preference, in return for what we have done.

To those who have reproached me for expressing such views, I answered to the best of my ability that broad questions like this could not be discussed on personal grounds, or rather, on the personal qualities of a man. Mr. Chamberlain is a very able man. All those who have met him, or heard him, or read his speeches, whether they share his views or not, will be free to admit that he is a very able man indeed. But a man is only a man. Mr. Chamberlain is nearly sixty-eight years old. He will soon disappear from the earth. The question that is under discussion will remain—the question of the relations between the British possessions and the motherland.

I invited my friends in Quebec to dismiss the personality of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain is only the result of a great idea. Perhaps I may be permitted to invite my friends from the other side of the ocean to also dismiss the personality of Mr. Chamberlain. I had the privilege yesterday of meeting in Montreal a gentleman of high standing, a member of Parliament, whom I will not name. He was much exercised over the feeling in Canada. He said: "Upon my word, I cannot meet a man unless he tells me that he is a Chamberlain man. It is too bad." Later on he said that we had a person named Foster over there who was an advocate of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Then I said I had a very narrow escape myself, because I was leaving for England to go and take a hand in the campaign for Mr. Chamberlain, and had my berth already secured. We discussed the whole situation, and I believe that when he left the room I had convinced him that the personality of Mr. Chamberlain is not the whole thing in the question just now under discussion in the British Empire.

We have not charge of Mr. Chamberlain's future. I believe he can take care of himself, but we have charge of this country's future, have we not? We are citizens of the British Empire and of Canada. We, as the most important colony of the British Empire, are entitled, it is our duty, to take the lead in questions in which we are directly interested. We live on the northern part of this continent. To the south of us there are some living souls. There is a small nation of eighty-two or eighty-three millions. They are there, and we are here. They are there to stay, and I hope we are here to stay. Those of us (turning to Hon. G. E. Foster) who have been Ministers of the Crown—and who may get there again—are, perhaps, in a position to tell you more about the United States than you know now. We have dealt with them. My friend, who has been a great many years in public life, will bear me out on that point.

A good many United States people in high positions in politics, in commerce, in manufactures, have in their minds the idea that some day or other the stars and stripes will wave over Canada. I say "never," but we must make up our minds that they shall not, because they have that in their minds. In my opinion, our friends on the other side of the line are big enough without us, and we are big enough without them.

Whatever my mistakes, my failings and weaknesses may have been, while I was in office, while I had the honor to be Minister of Public Works, one of my ambitions, my dearest ambition, has been to make this country independent of the United States. Independent in our means of transportation, independent commercially. What is our future going to be? As I said, we are here and they are there. We are not prepared to be an independent nation. We cannot be an independent nation to-day without great risks. We are not in the position of the smaller nations of Europe, where the smaller nations are protected by the larger. Suppose we became independent to-day, our friends from the United States would not be long in repeating the Panama incident. They would not take part in a revolution, but they would find means of sending troops or arms into this country, and Toronto would be one of the first cities invaded. Well, we are not prepared to be independent, and we don't want to be annexed. Let me assure you that the Province of Quebec is just as strongly opposed to any annexation idea as you are yourselves. We cannot be independent now, it would not be to our interest; we don't want to be annexed; and what are we going to do? There is only one thing, one policy, that forces itself upon the minds of thinking men in this country. It is to arrange matters in such a way that we remain in close touch with the British Islands, with the motherland. There are no groups of men who would consent to give away one iota of our freedom. We want to keep all that we enjoy now. I know that in some parts of the Dominion there are people who believe that there is danger ahead in closer relation with the motherland. You will expect me to speak freely. I am in a free city, and claim the freedom of the city of Toronto to-night. They say there is danger ahead, because they say if you arrange for closer connection with the motherland you will become responsible for the policy of England all through. In my opinion that is a mistake. Moreover, when people become of age they must realize, they do realize, that their responsibilities are heavier than when they were boys.

We are becoming of age, we are becoming a pretty big nation. Commercially we have every possible reason for closer relations with England. The English market is our market. We are selling to England a large quantity of products of all kinds. They will never be able to produce the food that will be required by their population. They are importing about 60 per cent. of their food. There we have a great market for the surplus of this country. Then, commercially speaking, England needs our market. What have we got to complain of? As I said, we are free. I believe that we might say, in all propriety and truth, that we are independent. We are free to do everything we want. The tie that binds us to the British Empire is a tie of silk after all. What could we do in dealing with foreign powers if we had no British prestige and British strength to help us through. I ask this question—it is not a party question—of every thinking Canadian who is able to look ahead—what could we do?

We complain, perhaps rightly, that our opinion has not always been asked in certain matters that concerned us. Let us ask ourselves if we could have succeeded if we had to do the work alone? I am a strong advocate of British

connection, of closer connection, because the more experience I have the more I find out that if interest in this country had not been taken by the motherland we should have been left in the cold a great deal more than we have been in the past. It seems to me that the time has come to set our house in order. In this room there are men of all parties. It is well it is so. I congratulate you upon being able to hold a meeting like this one. You come here to enjoy yourselves, and at the same time to discuss matters of great importance, and to discuss them freely. Is not the time come to set our house in order, to see where we are? Unless we discuss fully in our minds the questions which I put squarely to you, we may have some bad accidents. What closer relations can we have? Matters of transportation are of the greatest importance. As I said, we are on the shortest path between the west and England. Let us improve our means of transportation, so that England shall become nearer and nearer to us. I will not speak on the tariff, because I would find those who did not share my views; but I say we must make ourselves independent of our neighbors in every possible way. This is not a party question.

It seems to me that there should not be one man in this room that should not agree with me that we should make ourselves independent of our neighbors and if we determine so we can do it. My motto is "Business is business," and it is the motto of the Province of Quebec also. We mean business in Quebec. Have we not the raw material to make a nation—English, French, Irish, Scotch, Catholic, Protestant—we all belong to the same creed after all. We are here to stay, to develop one of the most magnificent countries under the sun. If we are faithful to ourselves, if we have confidence in our strength and ability, we have a great future before us.

We have been fortunate enough to live at a stage of national life when public liberties have been conquered for us. We have only to develop what we have inherited. It would be a great shame for us if we did not do for our children what our fathers did for us.

Let me assure you from the bottom of my heart, from my years of experience, from complete and thorough knowledge of the French-Canadian people, that we are with you in the great work that is before us. There may be differences in little details. My excellent friend has said that in election times there have been appeals to prejudice. Well, Canada is not the only country where such little accidents happen, but those accidents do not prevent the sun from rising, do not prevent Canada from forging ahead. It is not so bad at times to make fools of ourselves, because we become wise when we find we have made mistakes. But those days are past.

I have been thirty years in public life, and I am proud to say that in every corner of the land to which I go I find Canadian sentiment growing stronger and stronger every day. I find that the people of Canada are learning more and more to know their country. We don't know enough of Canada. I have said often, and I repeat here, that before I became a Minister, I thought I knew my own country, but I found I did not know it. I started travelling all over the land. When my friend (indicating Mr. Foster) was in the House of Commons he reproved me for travelling too much. I was travelling in pri-

vate cars. Well, let me say that I have not travelled enough. It is through my travelling that I have made up my mind that this country has a great future. It was by comparing our national equipment with the equipment of our neighbours that I found out that if we wanted to get along we were bound to do what we had not done in the past. Let me ask all good men here, without any party bias, to make up their minds that the duty of the Canadian people, that the duty of the Government, is to prepare this country for a real, genuine competition with our neighbors by taking a leaf from the book that they have written.

You have the equipment of the American harbors on the Atlantic Ocean, and the equipment of the Great Lakes. We could divert a great deal of their trade, not only coming from the Canadian Northwest, but from the American west. I advocated an essentially Canadian policy. I am a strong man on one point—Canada for the Canadians.

I am addressing this evening many young men. I wish I was as young with the wisdom I have acquired. I congratulate you on the wise move you have taken. I go to Quebec. I will tell my young friends of both political persuasions what you are doing. We should have a Canadian Club in Quebec the same as you have here. I extend to you an invitation to the Canadian Club at Montreal. I make this promise that I will establish one. I will take a copy of your regulations and establish one in a week—French-Canadians, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Englishmen, will gather to discuss the great interests of this country.

The Federal elections are approaching. I wish you to take part in them with a calmness and a wisdom that good citizens should always bring into play when they have to decide on the future of a great country like Canada. Surely we are bound to differ, but we can all share in the same love for this country and we are bound to develop the immense resources at our disposal.

(January 6)

BY HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER

Mr. Foster in his speech referred to his pleasure in hearing his friend—never his enemy—Mr. Tarte. Sometimes in the Parliamentary skirmishes Mr. Tarte had got the better of him, and sometimes, perhaps, he had got the better of Mr. Tarte. He had then thought Mr. Tarte travelled a good deal, but he was not quite sure he would not have been better pleased if Mr. Tarte had travelled a little farther.

While in England he had addressed 50,000 or 60,000 people, and not a single man had resented his speaking because he was a Canadian. The matter under discussion was a great Imperial question, in which the junior partner should be heard, and it was no impertinence for a colonial to speak. To announce oneself as a Canadian was a sure way to the hearts of an English audience. The story about his treatment in England not being cordial arose in the same way as sometimes the views expressed by one man in Quebec were printed in the papers as being typical of the whole Province, and as statements attacking

French-Canadians and their creed were printed in Quebec as representing the feeling of this Province. The guest of the evening had not shown his horns or his hoofs, though that did not imply that he had none.

Mr. Foster invited his hearers to contrast the condition of the United States in the year 1800 with what it is to-day, and then to look at the physical, mechanical, scientific, mental and moral equipment of Canada in 1900, and say what place she would occupy one hundred years from now. There was no reason why Canada should not then have 80 millions of people. The thought should make us proud and thankful. It should also make us serious with a sense of our responsibility. The spread of the Canadian Club movement showed there was something in the air.

A wise man had talked to them that night, one who was wiser than he used to be. He was reminded of the young German on his wandering alone who went through a certain course, and then, equipped with his knapsack and all his faculties, wandered through foreign countries, observing and learning, coming back to the fatherland to do better work than ever. It was not necessary to make the application. Coming out of the college of journalism, Mr. Tarte wandered through the broad fields of Liberal Conservatism, and saw there "many things I never saw," and learnt "many things I never heard of," and saw "another country I never explored." But he was not yet satisfied.

I see him standing on the river's brink. He is making up his mind whether to enter that foreign country. He plunges in, passes over and lands on the other bank. He observed he learned. He gets into the very midst of the Elysian fields. The warm, soft breath of summer fans his brow. He has the light of power, he has that feeling of being at the centre, the heart of things, and seeing just exactly how the wheels go round. Now he has finished his years of wandering.

Wiser and stronger, having seen the inside of both of these countries, knowing their beauties and their deformities, their strength and their weakness, he comes back—how far? I do not know. This, I know, he comes back a stronger man than before. Mr. Tarte as the French-speaking ex-Minister and himself an ex-Minister, representing the English race, stand side by side with the one purpose of building up this country under the aegis of the British flag.

My old friend, exclaimed Mr. Foster, turning to Mr. Tarte, I am glad to see you here.

In closing Mr. Foster declared that if it accomplished nothing else, the Chamberlain campaign was worth all it cost in the interest in the colonies it had excited on the part of Britain. The colonies were no longer regarded merely as possessions, but as the outposts of the empire which were the hope of the future.

Mr. Tarte replied briefly. Mr. H. J. Wickham addressed the Club, and during his remarks entered a mild protest against the statement that the offer of a preference was a bribe to Canada. Chamberlain's idea was not to unify the empire on any hard and fast commercial basis, but proposed that in

adjusting our tariffs we should buy what we had to import from England, rather than from the foreigner. The speaker considered it was essential that Canada have a more vigorous maritime policy and create a great mercantile marine, which might be of assistance to the Imperial navy. He found Canada had only 7,362 vessels, and the tonnage was only half what it was 25 years ago.



(January 11)

Characteristics of English Education

By REV. CANON GLAZEBROOK
Rector of Clifton College, England

In introducing Rev. Canon Glazebrook, head master of Clifton College, England, to speak on the subject of "English Education," President Parker said:—

We have a grudge against the educational system of England, for a cause which I hope you will be able to remove. We understand that you refer to Canada as a country where the haymakers are sometimes frozen to death in their tents, and where, though the Indians are now tame, milk is still delivered in solid blocks. Allow me to assure you that this is not true, and I hope when you return you will correct this impression.

Before proceeding, said Canon Glazebrook, I think I will answer the criticism of your President. I am responsible for the education of six hundred boys. We have a regular course of geography in the school, which includes a systematic survey of the British Empire. In this, books are used, and I myself lecture upon Canada, and I can assure you that neither in these books nor in my lectures have these misleading statements been made.

Canon Glazebrook begged Canadians to remember when they saw accounts of prominent Americans being received more warmly in England than seemed fitting, how easy it was for some one who wanted to send irritating news to magnify an invitation from some irresponsible person into a national banquet. In discussing some of the characteristics of English education, Canon Glazebrook said:—Some years ago a German schoolmaster was spending a year in England, studying English education. After being nine months in London he was told the best schools were not in the metropolis, but that he should go to the large schools outside. He was amazed at this but decided to investigate. I invited him to come by all means. I said that I supposed he would like to see how the boys lived, to see their cross-country race, to see them at football and cricket. He said: 'Oh, no, I know all about those things. I have read 'Tom Brown.' I told him 'Town Brown' pictured a state of things of fifty years ago. He looked at me as much as to say: 'You don't know anything about it.'

Considering that here was an educationist who had been nine months in England without getting to know anything, really, about English school life, it is reasonable that some here who have never been in England should have hazy ideas of what goes on there. I have gathered that a good many people in Toronto believe that on the whole English education is rather ineffective. There are two reasons for this. One is the belief that a young, vigorous and growing community has in the methods it is gradually evolving for itself. Another is that Canada does not offer a field for the exercise of the abilities of the typical product of the great public schools. With the exception of a few educational and public appointments there is no opportunity for a typical public school man to find a place. He naturally goes elsewhere.

I want to tell you a little about such a man—the story of Tom Brown. only Tom Brown limited, the clever sort of Tom Brown, the boy whose parents are not wealthy, not able to give him social position, but who are able to send him to the public school and the university. I desire to speak of these because they are typical products of the public school.

I heard one school criticized once, and it was said that the school no more made the men who passed through it than P. & O. steamers made the men they took out to India to become governors and officials, because of the influences with which they were surrounded, but the schools are entitled to take credit for those boys who were indebted to the school for all that had made them what they became in after life.

Tom Brown comes up to school at thirteen or fourteen. He is first told off into a house, a large boarding-house, containing forty or fifty boys, ruled over by a master of some age and experience, say forty or upwards, usually married. This master takes Tom Brown into his family. He becomes really *in loco parentis*. He regards himself as responsible for the boys in his house, for their comfort, health, morals, manners and exercise, and, as a rule, he is well aided by his wife. Most masters' wives devote themselves with great success to the boys. They take an interest in all their concerns when well, attend them when ill and have a most satisfactory effect upon their manners, tending to make them gentle, generous and manly.

He is first a fag. He is told off to be the fag to one of the Sixth. This does not mean that he must clean his master's boots and go out of bounds to get tobacco and other illicit things. He has, in fact, to do very little. He sweeps out the study of the Sixth Form boy and runs a few messages, and gets in return a general elder-brotherly looking after, which is of great value to him.

Then he goes into the Fifth Form and becomes a person of some importance, gets into the football team, and, if he is clever, begins to make a showing.

He gets into the Sixth Form. The Sixth Form has a great deal of power, and has no counterpart elsewhere in the world, and this power lies chiefly in the 'house.' The boys of the Sixth manage the games, oversee the dormitory, see that lights are put out at the proper time; they are responsible in case of fire to see that all the pupils get out safely. If serious offences are committed they are responsible for the punishment of offenders. If they catch

a little boy smoking they cane him. If the little boy shirks games they give him lines, and if he persistently shirks they cane him. They are made to feel their responsibility, and it is wonderful how this sense of responsibility develops their character, raises their aims and how much it does for the public good.

Let me tell you one little story to show that this authority is not misused or resented. I was once watching a cricket match at Harrow, where I was a master, when two little boys began to talk quite freely. It appeared that one of them had been caned that day, I did not hear what for, and he was telling it to the other. The Sixth Form boy told him to stand in such a way, to hold his arms out in front, or he would 'get it' on the elbows, and then at the end he said 'He was awfully jolly all through.' Don't you think that a system that enables one to punish kindly and another to receive it without resentment, and both acting with generosity has much to commend it to us? Some of our customs seem barbarous to those not acquainted with them, but those acquainted with them know that there is in instances like that much to build up national character.

How do they differ from day schools? The great difference is this: They regard life as a whole. They do not separate the religious, the physical and the intellectual. Manners, morals, health, learning, all go together. And there is a sense in which these things centre in the school chapel, where week by week those who have charge endeavor to instil into them a right precept of the main things of life. I do not speak of the teaching of the ordinary duties and of ordinary moral training, but there is one thing I will refer to. The ideal that is held up to them is not the gospel of getting on. They are told to make service to man for the sake of God their main aim, their ideal, not to make success or failure their test, but to be sure they do their best.

Tom Brown often goes into the army. Remember he did not twenty or thirty years ago. He used to go from a 'crammer,' and a great many of the mistakes and failures in the army recently are due to the fact that the great majority of the men in senior positions are not typical public school men. He goes into the army, and there shows a spirit of self-sacrifice and generosity. Let me tell one incident of an old boy of mine. He was in charge of a detachment of Sikhs or Ghoorkas, I am not sure which. In an action against one of the hill tribes he had a cannon, and it covered an important point. It was suddenly discovered that there was no water, and that the instrument for swabbing out the gun was broken. You know that if a gun is not properly cleaned after firing the man who puts in the next charge runs a risk of being blown to pieces, or of bursting the gun. When they made this discovery, he sent away those with him, so that they would be out of danger, and using a piece of his coat for a swab he continued to load and reload and discharge that gun until it was almost red-hot. And the wonderful thing was that his head was not blown off. He held the position, the gun did what was required of it, and he got the Distinguished Service Order for his gallantry.

These boys devoted themselves in a wonderful way when the plague came on in India. I have had letters time and time again, praising their work in

India. It is wonderful how a regiment of dark-skinned men will look up to one white boy of 18 or 19, because he is English and accustomed to lead them and in this way.

Another Tom Brown goes to Oxford. I will not speak of the teaching side, because that would take me into technicalities, but let me say a word about the other side of university life. The men when they go up go into colleges which are like enlarged houses of our public schools. They are under certain discipline, but with a great deal of freedom. They must be in at a certain hour, and they may not be too noisy. They have in the exercising of their intellects the aid that organization can supply, but they learn more from one another than from anything else. What they learn thus is not the philosophy of books, but the philosophy of life, high aims and thoughts about life, practice in putting these thoughts into action, and the thousand other things which bear upon service in time to come. To give you a notion how stimulating such a society may be sometimes, I would venture to mention only four or five names of people who were actually my contemporaries in one small college at Oxford. There was Mr. H. H. Asquith, the late Home Secretary, a man of keen intellect, very great power of organization and a real leader, as you know. There was Gore, the present Bishop of Worcester, and one of the saintliest of men; Raleigh, the legal member of the Vice-roy's Council in India, and doing a great work there; Toynbee, whose name is not only commemorated in England, but also in the United States, Canada, India and Japan, by those college settlements where young men from the universities go to work and live among the poor, not for pay, but for brotherhood. He died when he was only thirty-one, but not before he had made a deep impression upon his contemporaries, and not least upon myself, and the thought of this inter-communication between all classes, this trying to understand the problems of the poor, all had its origin in the work of Arnold Toynbee.

Then there was Lord Milner, whose name is so familiar that I need say nothing about it. These were some in this small body, and they did not stand apart from the larger body of the men of the university, and who were as consecrated to service, as high minded, and of as lofty ideals as any men it has ever been my privilege to know.

I know that there have been some sneers cast, and that some have said that Lord Milner was 'the Balliol man made perfect.' I should be glad and proud to know that it was so, that he was the type of the Balliol man. At any rate, it gives you an idea of what Oxford men are trying to be. Although all came to Oxford without wealth or position, with nothing but their own character and ability to help them. Their line was not commerce, it was not law, but usually some kind of governing. You know what they have done in Egypt, where, under Lord Cromer, such men as Milner and Sir Clinton Dawkins have made a complete revolution, industrial and commercial.

Then in Africa, Oxford and Cambridge men at this time are doing a similar work. I heard a little while ago that Lord Milner had brought out a good many and had taken pains to pick the right men. Some of the Johannesburg mine-owners and others were inclined to sneer at these young

men and called them 'Milner's kindergarten.' Well, they have just given a testimony to the 'kindergarten.' Within the last few months some of them have received positions from these mining men worth \$25,000 per year to begin with.

Then there is India. It is difficult for many of us to realize the work of England in India. Four hundred millions being ruled, judged, policed, kept peaceful, kept prosperous on the whole, kept decent, kept from all kinds of horrors by a handful of young Englishmen, who go into the Indian Civil Service from the public school and the university. I believe, myself, that when the history of the nineteenth century comes to be written by competent and impartial historians they will say that the greatest achievement of England in that period has not been many other things that might be mentioned, but that she found India suffering from war, lust, rapine, famine and many other evils, and left it peaceful, prosperous, contented and approaching civilization.

There is a famous passage which no doubt many of you know in Virgil, where he compares the greatness of Rome with that of Greece and other nations : 'We Romans leave to others to be skilful in the plastic arts and arts of eloquence; the true art of the Roman is to rule, to order the weaker peoples, to make them peaceful, civilized and happy.' I should like to apply these words to England as represented by her great schools and universities, because they are the instruments. That and not in success or unsuccess in business, not the kind of work which men come out to a great democratic country and find to do, is the true test of higher English education. It does not aim to make a man successful in party politics or business, or in the competitive work of the world. It aims to fit him to the vehicle of great ideas, to convey them to the weaker nations of the world, and to fill these weaker nations with something of the higher spirit which may in the end bring them up to a civilized and worthy level of humanity.

(January 18)

Transportation

BY SIR THOMAS SHAUGHNESSY
President of the Canadian Pacific Railway

Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, addressed the Club on Jan. 18 on the subject of "Transportation."

Sir Thomas said that when he was invited it was understood something in the nature of a plain talk would be most acceptable, instead of an address, with statistics, etc. From his position he must be guarded in his comments or criticisms. Transportation was the greatest question of every community. Everything in the way of food and articles of wear depended to some extent on the cost of transportation. In travel, whether for business or for social reasons, the same held good, and consequently in a country like Canada, large in area and sparse in population, the question of transportation became of paramount importance. In older countries railways were only established in settled communities when the traffic and the population guaranteed a revenue. In this country, on the other hand, railways were used to open up districts and establish communities, while the revenue came only after this was accomplished.

Reverting to Confederation and the building of the C.P.R., Sir Thomas said that Confederation without inter-communication would have been an impossibility. For a number of years various means had been tried to secure inter-communication between the several provinces, but without result until 1881, when the construction of the C.P.R. from the east end of Lake Nepigon to the Pacific coast was decided upon. Public men were not of one mind as to the wisdom of the arrangement. Some thought it would be better to utilize the waterways and build the road in smaller stretches. There were not a few that felt the road would not pay, and would be thrown back on the Government, and be an annual expense. After passing through many ordeals, the road was finally opened for traffic. It was stipulated that until the earnings of the company had reached 10 per cent. the road would be free from Government control. Both sides no doubt grinned at this under the mistaken impression that it would never approximate that amount.

With the running of the road the old cry of the expense of transportation was raised, and the agitation for the Red River Valley Road was started in Manitoba. A line was built in the interest of the Northern Pacific, with the aid of the Provincial Government. The N. P. was extended to 250 miles from the border, and now forms part of Mackenzie and Mann's system.

Sir Thomas spoke of the efforts to secure settlement in the west, and pointed out that, although the building of the C.P.R. only involved the building of 1,000 miles of railway, there was now in that new country, including the lines of the Canadian Northern, upwards of 3,500 miles of railway. Going on to speak of the development of British Columbia, Sir Thomas said that forests that had been of comparatively little value were becoming of immense worth, and British Columbia had become a progressive and a prosperous community. At Vancouver, Victoria, and the ports of the Pacific, progress had been almost as great, and we have every reason to feel that the transportation provided has had for the entire country most beneficial results. We have this new territory provided with transportation facilities beyond any other new country in the world. In the first ten months of 1903 there were exported nine million dollars' worth of copper, silver and lead. We have prosperous farms, mining, lumbering, fisheries, all west of Lake Superior. The people engaged in these industries are all interested in finding a market for their products. To find that, they must not only have facilities for transport, but such facilities as will enable them to successfully compete with other people having the same things to sell. In the east we are interested in that territory because they purchase the products of our manufacturers, and we must be able to send these goods and manufactured articles to them on terms to enable them to use them as well as the goods of our competitors on the south side of the international boundary.

Transportation companies, therefore, if they are to perform their duty, must see that we are not only given cheap facilities, but that they are provided on the most favored nation terms. Well, is that being done? No community is ever satisfied with the freight rates, and no railway company can afford to have the community fix its freight rates. It is not easy to determine what a given line from one point to another will cost. In the Northwest, for example, the Canadian railways were obliged to use American coal as far as Moose Jaw in any event, the British Columbia mines being too far away. American coal cost the Canadian lines 30 per cent. more than the United States roads. Wages in the Northwest of Canada were a bit higher than south of the line. Despite this, however, rates in Manitoba for the carriage of grain to Port Arthur were in some cases 30 per cent., and in no case less than 15 per cent. less than on the Northern Pacific or Great Northern roads to Duluth. Without Government control there had been since 1888 a reduction from 25 to 13 cents upon wheat from Brandon to Fort William, as a result of the increased tonnage carried. As an illustration, Sir Thomas stated that in 1888 the C.P.R. carried 784,972,000 tons of freight one mile, on which the earnings were \$8,017,000, at the rate of 1.02 cents per ton mile, and for the fiscal year ending June 30th last it carried 3,862,000,000 tons of freight one mile, nearly six times the quantity, on which the earnings were \$27,671,000, or at the rate of .74 of a cent per ton mile. The increase in tonnage enabled them to do their business on a cheaper basis. No company, he urged, was well conducted which does not follow the policy of reducing rates when the conditions enabled it to do so, because every company's future is bound up with the in-

terests of the community it serves. When the community prospers the company prospers, and when there is a lack of activity in the community the railways are hard put to it, unless they have a strong fund set aside. There had been complaints from time to time as to the service and rates of railways. Admitting that no doubt the railway companies of the country deserve criticism at times, Sir Thomas said he was satisfied that no railway company in this day would for one moment think of maintaining an unreasonable rate either for passengers or freight, once attention had been called to the subject. A railway company, in regard to the facilities it provides, is in much the same position as an individual—it requires money. Revenue, and nothing else, must be the basis of railway enterprise. The railway company that attempts to provide facilities in anticipation of what may occur, runs the risk not only of straining its credit, but of getting into serious financial trouble, if its anticipations are not realized. Therefore a railway manager should carefully watch his revenue. He must be careful that he does not attempt to provide facilities till he has money safely in hand to do so without injury to the credit of his company. Moreover, the speaker urged that the credit of the country depends very largely on the success and good credit of the larger enterprises conducted within it.

Discussing the methods of transportation east of Port Arthur, Sir Thomas asked: When the articles of production reach the head of Lake Superior what are we going to do with them? How is it going to be arranged that such portion of the production of that important territory west of Lake Superior as must leave the country should pass through Canadian channels to Canadian ports for export? It was his firm conviction that we cannot, and must not, discuss the question of transportation east of Fort William without giving every consideration to our waterways, which through the St. Lawrence canals, upon which we have spent millions, furnish a direct waterway from Fort William to the ship's side at Montreal, and there is no cheaper means of transportation than water transportation. It is, of course, slower and more cumbersome, and by reason of climatic conditions the canal season is shorter than the lake season.

But the Canadian canal system should be utilized to a greater extent than it is at the present time, and we should use to the best advantage Lake Superior and the Georgian Bay, while the French River could also be deepened to give access to North Bay. The distance from Fort William to Montreal is, in round figures, 1,000 miles. The distance from the east end of Lake Nipissing—that is, North Bay—to Montreal is 365 miles; the distance from Midland to Montreal can be made 360 miles. Wheat or flour, or anything else in the nature of coarse products, can be carried by water at one-quarter the cost from Fort William to Midland or to North Bay that it will cost to carry the same traffic nearly 650 miles over the railway. Now, what sane man, said Sir Thomas, will assert that with that enormous difference in cost against rail transportation we should neglect our waterways?

I know, said Sir Thomas, that a great many gentlemen who have given the subject a considerable amount of attention are of opinion that all rail transportation from Winnipeg to the seaboard is quite feasible; that over a

line properly built traffic can be handled so as to make it a feasible railway proposal. Some of them argue from wrong premises. I think I can say I know a railway company that will be glad to pay half a million dollars a year for the service of some individual if the figures they quote can be realized. He said that, while he would not be understood as saying one word in criticism of a project that will result in opening up a vast new territory and will be a factor in colonization, he was convinced that in connection with such project or in addition to it or apart from it, as may be thought best, if we are to get the best and most economical results in transportation, we must utilize these great stretches of water which Providence has provided. The advantage that would result from the utilization of these waterways would be that we build up the Canadian fleet on the great lakes. One reason that the year before last 13,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat went to Buffalo was that a great many United States bottoms trading to Fort William with coal were able to take cargoes back to Buffalo on a very low basis of rates. The New York Central between Buffalo and New York, 440 miles, with its heavy local traffic and with the possibility of taking from 70 to 80 cars in a train, can handle traffic cheaper than the G.T.R. or the C.P.R. through a less favorable country, where eighteen or twenty cars constitute a maximum train load.

We must improve that condition of things, said Sir Thomas. We must get a line from the lakes to tide-water over which we can carry just as many carloads of grain as the New York Central can; we can get that line 80 miles shorter than the New York Central to New York; we can save terminal charges, and it will be a route that will permit none of our grain that originates on and is controlled by Canadian railways to go out of Canadian channels. In connection with the transportation facilities of the country we must have proper terminals at the Atlantic ports, and all of them should be under the control of the general Government; they should be up-to-date ports. With reference to the transportation across the Atlantic, he thought that year by year the requisite steps are being taken to insure the carriage of Canadian traffic on at least as favorable a basis as that prevailing from any point south of us on the United States frontier.

The national effect of transportation has also a big factor. Nothing exercises so important an influence upon the progress and at times upon the destiny of a country as the transportation systems. The possibilities of people in the most remote sections of a large country meeting personally and communicating face to face and for the interchange of business insures communion of thought, communion of interest, a federation of feelings that can be brought about by no other agency. As indicative of the manner in which our neighbors to the south view this matter, Sir Thomas quoted an extract from the report made to the United States Senate by the Committee on the Pacific Railways on February 19, 1869, as follows:—

"The line of the North Pacific road runs for 1,500 miles near the British possessions, and when built will draw the agricultural products of the rich Saskatchewan and Red River districts east of the mountains, and the gold country on the Fraser, Thompson, Kootenay Rivers west of the mountains.

From China (Canton) to Liverpool it is 1,500 miles nearer by the 49th parallel of latitude than by the way of San Francisco and New York. This advantage in securing the overland trade from Asia will not be thrown away by the English, unless it is taken away by our own first building the Northern Pacific road, establishing mercantile agencies at Puget Sound, fixing mercantile capital there, and getting possession, of land and on the ocean, of all the machinery of the new commerce between Asia and Europe. The opening by us first of a Northern Pacific railroad seals the destiny of the British possessions west of the 91st meridian. They will become so Americanized in interests and feelings that they will be in effect severed from the new Dominion, and the question of their annexation will be but a question of time."

Sir Thomas pointed out that the Northern Pacific was built, and was on the verge of bankruptcy once, and was finally bankrupt. Subsequently the Great Northern was also built, still farther north, between the Northern Pacific and the British frontier. Yet to-day, he said, we find that people west of the 91st meridian are, if possible, more thoroughly British than they were in 1869. We find that, so far from taking our Canadian people into the United States, stealing them away from the British Empire, as they proposed in 1869, we are bringing citizens of the United States by thousands into our Northwest, and making them prosperous farmers and good British subjects. We find that on the Atlantic and on the Pacific we are quite holding our own; that on the Pacific Ocean the cream of the trade to-day is in the hands, not of ships connected with the Northern Pacific or Great Northern, but of ships connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I would only wish to say, said Sir Thomas in conclusion, that I notice that most of the members present to-day are young men. I am not old myself. I expect to see great projects carried out before I pass away, but I have not the slightest doubt that there are sitting here to-day many young men who will see Canada—not only the portion from the great lakes to the Pacific coast, but from the great lakes to the Atlantic coast—quite as prosperous in proportion to population, and the population quite as large, as among our great and most enterprising neighbors in the south.

(January 25)

International Arbitration

BY THOMAS BARCLAY, LL.D.

Dr. Thomas Barclay of Paris, France, was introduced by President Parker as one who had helped to pave the way for the Anglo-French arbitration treaty signed on October 14 last, and who was now on a mission to the United States with a similar object.

Dr. Barclay expressed the belief that the future of Canada largely lay in the hands of such as those he addressed, the young men and the business men of the day. Business men had taken hold of the arbitration movement as a business interest. Few people in America had realized the importance of the Fashoda affair, when both nations had been armed to the teeth, and the French Government spent seventy million francs in a few days in preparation for war. The danger of such incidents was felt, and when Dr. Barclay made his proposals as Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, practical men were prepared to listen to him. The French exposition had offered a good opportunity for the discussion of the question, although he had been assailed with the objection that this was a political question and not one for business men. He had asked if fourteen pence on the pound income tax was not a business question. Was the fall in the price of securities not of interest to business men? Were the slaughter of our young men and the possibility of the invasion of the country merely political questions? The commercial men of England had been interested and had come over 800 strong to Paris and fraternized with the French business men, and they resolved there they would in future manage these things for themselves. It was an impertinence to speak of a governing class which was to manage their affairs. There was no such thing, and the people would manage themselves. At the time of the Boer war, too, he had been instrumental in bringing to an end the publication of obnoxious caricatures.

These remarks, he said, were necessary to explain his presence in Canada. He hoped for a treaty between the United States and the British Empire. He had gone straight to Washington first because they had the Senate there, and the Senate was a difficult body to deal with. The Senators were men all the time, but they were one sort of men inside and another outside the Senate. One man by himself was very good. Two were not so good. When three got together they began to degenerate, and as they increased in numbers they deteriorated in geometrical progression until, taken all together, they were very bad.

He had been warned by them individually that every citizen was a master of the nation, and he must teach arbitration to the voters. Only an Englishman could do it, as Democrats and Republicans would not listen to each

other. Lord Salisbury's proposed treaty had been rejected by the Senate and England could not move again; but Dr. Barclay thought that a step would be taken from this side of the Atlantic. He thought Canada was the most interested party. The idea, he said, might go against them at present, but he did not think a recent incident was arbitration at all. It was, however, a straight argument for arbitration, which was a reference to perfectly independent persons, and that was the kind of arbitration that was wanted in the future.

At present when a difficulty arose between nations they immediately began to consider their naval and military resources. This was not the business man's way. It was a very rare thing for two merchants to fight it out in the back yard, but among nations it was considered that the back yard was the proper place to settle their differences, and gentlemen in Piccadilly who were not concerned with income taxes encouraged this opinion. But business men know the cost and have a shrewd idea of what debt is, and they purposed the adoption of other methods. It was the business men of Canada who were most interested in the preservation of peace between Britain and the United States.

The whole of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania was solid for arbitration and for good relations between Canada and the United States. The United States people were not so unlike the British and had differences of opinion among themselves. Scratch an American and you find a Canadian. He thought Mr. Hay would negotiate a treaty, but he had told Dr. Barclay he could not do so unless there was a fair prospect of public opinion in favor of it. At Washington he had found a group of Congressmen who are going to bring their influence to bear on the Senators individually, so that if Mr. Hay made a treaty the Senate would adopt it. Movements towards influencing public opinion had also been started in Carolina and Illinois.

He thought the United States people were astonishingly like the Canadians, and he wondered if something else was not looming up in the south. Could they not realize that nations might be autonomous and at the same time good friends. Dr. Barclay told a story of a cat and dog who were able to sit together in peace until they were tied together. Was it not possible that the Dominion could be very good friends with the United States without entering into any legislative union? He could see that the Dominion was destined to be a great country. The old country would not be disappointed by and by to see them bear their own burdens. He expected to see a closer and closer union between Canada, the States and the mother country. They might find another word—for Anglo-Saxon is a poor word—an expression which would embrace our common origin, love of law, of justice and liberty, things which bound nations together more than treaties.

In acknowledging a vote of thanks Dr. Barclay said he did not like to leave Toronto without planting a little twig. There should be a committee, as in Ottawa and Montreal, not to bind itself to any particular object, but to work for arbitration. President Parker pointed out that, while the Canadian Club as a club could take no action, he might be assured of the sympathy of the members individually. Mr. Parker suggested the Board of Trade as a suitable channel through which to work.

His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Dr. Goldwin Smith were guests of the Club on this occasion.

(February 1)

Taxation of Railways

By H. J. PETTYPICE, M.P.P.

The "Taxation of Railways" was discussed at the luncheon on February 1 by Mr. H. J. Pettypiece, M.P.P., who said :—

Should railways be taxed at all is sometimes asked. I think they should, with other interests in the country, bear their share of the burden of governing the country. They share in the sunlight, the air and prosperity of the country, and they should, I think, bear their fair share of taxation. Whether they do or not is another question. I think one or two plain statements are sufficient to answer that. In the Province of Ontario to-day property such as farm property, manufacturing property, business property, the property of the individual, is bearing a taxation ranging from four to six dollars on every thousand dollars worth of value, not the assessed value, but actual value so far as can be ascertained. Railway property in Ontario is bearing only sixty cents as compared with about six dollars borne by other property. That is the difference in the burden that is borne. Then the question is asked, Is it right that they should? The proposition is this, we have some of the great railway systems of this country operating both in Canada and the United States; how are they treated across the border? Take the Grand Trunk system, for instance, which is our great railway system so far as Ontario is concerned, and we find that it has in round numbers four thousand miles of track, one thousand of which is in the United States and three thousand in Canada, mostly in Ontario. The one thousand miles in the United States paid in the year 1903 an average of \$400 per mile in taxation in the States of Maine, Vermont, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. The three thousand miles in Canada, which is the best paying part of the system, have been paying less than \$60 per mile—that is the difference—which means the earnings in this country are to a great extent taken to bear the taxation in rival States across the border. One of the most striking examples is the St. Clair Tunnel. I have mentioned it so often that it seems like a chestnut, but I will refer to it again because it illustrates my point. That wonderful piece of engineering brought about and operated now by the Grand Trunk Railway is one-half in Michigan and one-half in Ontario. Last year on the 1st of July, 1903, that tunnel paid taxes to the amount of \$30,000. Out of the \$30,000, \$29,400 was paid in Michigan and \$600 in the Province of Ontario. The Ontario end of the tunnel cost just the same as the other end, the earnings are identically the same, but the passenger traffic rate on this end is three cents a mile, and on the other end two cents, fifty per cent. higher, and the Ontario end received

from the Dominion Government a subsidy of \$285,000, while the other end received nothing.

This is such a large question that I propose to take up to-day only one feature of it, that is, how should assessments on railways be made for taxation purposes? I want to deal with that subject to-day from a city standpoint. The bill before the Legislature provides in the very first clause that a Provincial Commission shall be appointed by the Provincial Government for the purpose of assessing railway property, and I find that one of the places where opposition comes from is the municipal authorities, probably in Toronto, Hamilton and smaller places, even townships. People conducting municipal government are jealous of municipal rights and look upon this as a centralization of power, and they say, "You are taking from municipalities some of their power." Good and well, we should not take power from them unless it is necessary; but I have made a careful investigation of this matter for some years, especially in the States neighboring on the great lakes south of us, and I find that all through the United States, in some fifty States, that forty-three of them have already adopted the mode of taxing railroads by State commissions, and they have been at it for thirty-five years, and the result of that thirty-five years' working and experience is that the only way to tax a railway is to tax the entire system as one piece of property, and they do it by a State Board. They do this because a railway property is of such a different character from other property, it extends from seaboard to seaboard in some cases, very seldom is a whole system in one State, it extends through different States, and it is made up of such different elements of value that it is impossible to get municipal assessors competent to deal with the question and make a fair assessment, so that the valuation for taxation purposes will be fair to the railway company itself in the first place and fair to the people. They have summed it up that there are five principal elements of value; first, the cost and equipment of a road, the par value of the capital stock and funded debt, the franchises, the gross and net earnings, and, lastly, the market value of the capital stock and funded debt. These are again further divided into thirty different items which I will mention briefly: engineering, right of way, real estate, grading, tunnels, bridges, ties, rails, track, fencings and so on, interlocking switches, telegraphs, telephones, shops, round houses and so on, warehouses, docks and wharves, locomotives or other equipment and so on. So that in order to assess any portion of a railroad in any municipality at its fair value it is absolutely necessary for the assessor to know just how much of all these items enter into the cost of the road, into its value, in order to determine what would be the fair proportion. The attempts made in the United States in various places, and it would be the same here, to assess railroad property by municipalities means confusion, such confusion that there would be no end to; for instance, it has been shown that one township assessor has fixed the value at \$1,000 a mile, thinking that figure was right, and another assessor in another municipality has thought the value ought to be \$20,000 a mile. It has been found in a township where a costly bridge was necessary, or grading up an embankment and a large amount of money spent

on two or three miles of road in order to bring it up to a proper standard, that the assessor thought that was a reason why there should be a large assessment placed upon it. Another assessor, where there are ten or twelve miles of level road, a very little grading having been required, has taken the view that the railroad having escaped the cost of construction ought to pay more taxes. In some municipalities the assessors are frequently changed, and the succeeding assessor thinks he ought to know better than his predecessor the value of the railroad property in the municipality, and he makes a change. The fact of the matter is none of them have the first idea of the principle on which the assessment of a particular section of road in a locality ought to be based, and the courts all over the United States, because the railroads have been fighting against taxation wherever they thought there was an opportunity to escape taxation—have invariably said—and there are scores of decisions on record—that in order to assess a railroad properly and fairly it must be assessed as an entirety, and that it is impossible to divide it into parts even of different States assess it; for instance, a road running through three or four different States each State Board must ascertain all the particulars as to the whole cost of the road, not in their own State alone, but in the other States, and then allot what they consider their fair share of the taxes to be paid in their State. Further than that, the tendency of the railway corporations on this continent and everywhere else, I believe, has been to concentrate their energy and their capital, to centralize their efforts; and in order to compete with them it is absolutely necessary that the same mode of operation must go into effect. The railroads will fight assessment, and when a township or a city, say, like Toronto, undertakes to assess a road, and the railways think the assessment is too high, they go to the court; probably the Court of Revision sustains its local assessor, but the railway companies go to the Judge, and the Judge asks the assessor, Why did you do so and so? The assessor does not know why; he just simply thought it ought to be that, and the municipalities are non-suited every time. In Wisconsin five years ago the State appointed a commission to investigate all the systems in the different States. In 1903 they brought down their report, and their report was that the only way it worked satisfactorily in any other State in the Union was to assess by State Board, and the Governor of the State in his message to the Legislature recommending the appointment of such a board said: "But in determining the value of railroad property and the property of other public service corporations it will be found necessary to place at the command of the board the expert knowledge of a competent engineer and competent accountant. Men skilled in these lines of work command good pay. The railroad companies employ the best talent available in each of these departments. The State will be placed at great disadvantage in assessing and collecting taxes from public service corporations unless it equips its Board of Assessment and Taxation so as to meet these corporations on equal terms with equal talent." You can readily understand how utterly impossible it would be for your municipality to supply its assessors, or Board of Assessors with talent of that kind—competent engineers that can go to a road and look at it and

decide something about its cost of equipment and value, and competent accountants to go into the books and ascertain what are really the gross and net earnings. These things can be figured out, and I believe the gentlemen who are defending the railroads, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway (Mr. Hellmuth and Mr. MacMurchy), have figured out in their own way that railroads in this country are not able to pay taxes because they do not earn anything. We know they are paying taxes. The last report of the Grand Trunk Railway Company will show you that they transferred from the earnings in Canada \$80,000 to meet their responsibilities in the Grand Haven and Milwaukee branch in Michigan, and, curiously enough, the taxation on that branch is nearly the amount they transferred from the earnings here over to that State. So that as a matter of fact the earnings here of the Grand Trunk paid taxes in the State of Michigan to the amount of \$80,000.

If there is any class of municipalities in Ontario that should be able to cope with the railroads in this matter it should be the cities, and, judging from what was stated by the assessors of the City of Toronto and Hamilton at the recent meeting of the Railway Commission just in an incidental way when this question came up. I felt there was that feeling that they could handle their own railway assessment, and that the Provincial Board was not necessary—"We in Hamilton and Toronto can assess the railway property." Since then I have made it a point to ascertain how they do this work in the Cities of Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis and Milwaukee, five representative and progressive cities in five different States of the Union, all neighbors of ours. I have here their replies. My questions were addressed to the Chairman of the City Board of Assessors, and their reply was this, That we do not attempt to undertake to assess railway property at all. We refer these matters to the State Board of Assessors. The answer from the City of Detroit was : "We have nothing to do with the assessing of steam railroads; they are assessed by the State Tax Commission acting as a Board of Assessors on Railroads." The Milwaukee reply was : "We have just appointed a board, and all our railroad property is assessed by the State Tax Commission located at Madison, Wisconsin." I will deal with the Indianapolis report a little more fully, a city not as large as Toronto, with a population of 170,000. The questions and answers were :

Q.—What is the total assessed value of all the railway property in your city ? A.—\$9,845,280.

Q.—In that amount are the depots, round houses, repair shops, etc., included or not A.—They are all included.

Q.—Is the assessment of railway property in your city made by the State Board of Assessors, by the city officials, or partly by each ? A.—State Board of Tax Commissioners, consisting of the Governor of State of Indiana, Auditor of State, and Treasurer of State, and two other members appointed by the Governor.

Q.—Is the tax levied on railway property in your city paid to the State Treasurer, City Treasurer, or partly to each ? A.—The total tax levy is \$2.09 on the \$100, of which 82 cents go to the city and 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents go to the State,

and the balance is divided between the county, township and school levy. It is all paid to the County Treasurer, and settlement made with the State, County, City and Township and School and Benevolent Institutions.

Q.—Is your present mode of assessing and taxing railway property situate in your city satisfactory to the city or not? A.—Yes.

Q.—In what way could your present mode be improved upon? A.—I don't think that it could be improved on. He goes on to say that the rate of taxation is \$2.09 on each \$100. and the rate of assessment on the railways in the city varies from \$20,000 to \$1,200,000 per mile. There is one mile of railway in the City of Indianapolis assessed at \$1,200,000. The result is that on the \$10,000,000 worth of property bearing the rate of two cents on the dollar the City of Indianapolis received last year from railways \$200,000. You in your City of Toronto, with your magnificent railway property, got \$89,000. One mile of railway in Indianapolis paid last year in taxes \$44,000, or half as much as the entire railway property of the City of Toronto. The same Board of Tax Commissioners which made this assessment in Indianapolis—and they must make it fairly all over the States—assessed the eighty miles of the Grand Trunk Railway through that State at \$40,000 per mile.

I have also the reply from the City of Chicago, a city of 2,000,000 of people, nearly as many as are in the whole Province of Ontario, and to the first question the answer is \$26,483,537 worth of railway property assessed for taxation purposes. Depots, round houses, repair shops and so on are included.

Q.—Is the assessment of railway property in your city made by the Board of State Assessors, by city officials or partly by each? A.—All property held by the railroad not actually used for railroad purposes is assessed by the local assessor; all other railroad property is assessed by State Board and distributed by them among the various counties in which the railroad is situated. If the City of Chicago, with its two millions of people, with its immense wealth and its facilities for municipal local government, having at its command the best talent, whether of civil engineers, expert accountants or legal counsel, does not feel itself able to cope with this question, how can we expect the municipalities of Ontario to undertake it? We have to fight here just as great railway corporations, just as strong in every respect, with capital, legal talent and everything else, as there are anywhere in the world. We are proud of our two great railways, the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific, yet in this matter of taxation we have to cope with them, and to do it successfully I hold we must be guided by the experience of these people who have been working at this problem for thirty-five years and more, and if that experience is worth anything to us—and the people in these neighboring States are pretty much of the same class as ourselves—if we are going to undertake to compel these corporations to bear their fair share of the burdens of the taxation of this country, we must arm ourselves with the equipment necessary to be able to cope with them. We have in this country a class of people, manufacturing, agricultural, mercantile, who are giving to the railroads of this country a

traffic that is enabling them to prosper. If you look at the reports of the two great railway corporations—and they are an indication of the prosperity of all the railroads of the country—you will find during the past few years, especially the last few years, their earnings as compared with their working expenses are as good and as favorable as are the average railroads of the United States. Probably if you would pick up some exceptional roads, like Mr. Hellmuth and Mr. MacMurchy would do, a line like the New York Central passing through that populous country, you will find their earnings compared with expenses are better than here; but if you take the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and great trunk lines you will find the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway are more prosperous than the average road cross the line. Then we have this actual fact that in the neighboring State of Michigan there is not a Pullman car which crosses that State but pays its fair share of the taxes. We allow the same company to send its cars across Ontario day after day and never ask them for a single farthing of taxation. In Indiana every one of Armour's beef cars that crosses that State from Chicago to the seaboard pays its taxation, because the State protects it by their laws from depredations, fire and everything else, and the State asks some return for that. We carry them through here over roads built by the people, carry those goods across Ontario and take them to the seaboard to land in Europe to compete with our articles of the same character—we carry them free of taxation and at lower rates than we carry our own products. This is a question in which we are all interested, not only in the City of Toronto, but everywhere throughout Ontario, and if the railroads of this Province were simply built and operated for the benefit of the people alone, and we felt it in our interests that by exempting them from taxation they would give us lower rates, then it would be a question whether we would be justified in asking them to bear a fair share of the burdens. Mr. Hellmuth uses the argument that we are cooped up here north of the great lakes, and that we have not the same great territory to draw on as the American railroads. He makes a mistake there. Under the bonding privileges which are in existence between Canada and the United States, so far as railway traffic is concerned, there is no international boundary line; it is the other people who have to contend with the boundary line; it is the other people who are hampered by tariffs one way and the other, but so far as the Grand Trunk Railway is concerned they can go to New York, Omaha and Kansas City just the same as if we were all under one flag, so that the great populations of the great cities of the United States are there for the benefit of our railway systems just as much as they are for the benefit of the American systems. The Michigan Central, an American corporation, utilizes a portion of our Canadian road, the Canada Southern, which it has leased for ninety-nine years, and practically owns, to facilitate its traffic between the east and the west. The Michigan Central in Ontario is paying on that line about \$40 per miles in taxes. Just as soon as they cross the river at Detroit they pay on their own line to Chicago \$1,100 per mile in Michigan. The same road sells a ticket to a man in Detroit and carries him over Ontario at two cents a mile. A man in Windsor has to pay

three cents a mile for his ticket. The fact of the matter is that under the present system the earnings of these roads are taken out of the pockets of Canadian people in the way of rates and used for the purpose of paying the taxes of our neighbors across the border. We are already bearing a burden not only of our own institutions of local government of our own Provincial and Dominion Government, but we are helping to bear the burdens of the people of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Vermont and wherever these roads go, and wherever they can tax them. The Canadian Pacific operates some seven thousand miles of railway. On about four hundred miles in northern Michigan, called the Soo branch, they pay \$196 a mile taxes—a mere branch line which has only about one train a day—and on the system in Canada with earnings of about forty cents clear on every dollar they pay about twenty-five dollars a mile in taxes. Of course, there are some enactments under the charter by which a certain portion of the land is exempt for some years, but they are operating lines in Ontario which they have acquired and which are liable to taxation and which we should tax. The Province of Ontario under the British North American Act has absolute control of every dollar's worth of property within our borders for taxation purposes, and I think the people are justified in asking the Government of this Province to take this matter up and deal with it in a more equitable manner than it has been dealt with before.

(*February 8*)

The Party System of Government

BY PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH

About two years ago I had the honor to address this Club on party government. Since that time we have had some object lessons more forcible than any address. We have seen what party can do in the struggle for place, what is its influence on our political morality, and what are the passions which it excites. We are now seeing how the contagious influence of the machine affects even the government of our cities.

If a man, when asked to suggest a form of government for a nation, were to propose that the nation should be permanently divided into two organized factions, waging perpetual war against each other for power and place with such weapons as faction uses, each of them doing its best to make government in the hands of its rival impossible, he would probably be set down as insane. But the system having been once established, we fancy that it is not only the right system, but the only practicable form of free government.

Defenders of the system always cite Burke, a great authority; yet, it must be remembered, a pamphleteer, though the prince of them, and writing for a political situation. Burke says in his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent" :

"Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. For my part, I find it impossible to conceive that anyone believes in his own politics, or thinks them to be of any weight, who refuses to adopt the means of having them reduced into practice. It is the business of the speculative philosopher to mark the proper ends of government. It is the business of the politician, who is the philosopher in action, to find our proper means towards those ends, and to employ them with effect. Therefore every honorable connection will avow it is their first purpose to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the State. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for these situations. Without a proscription of others, they are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things; and by no means, for private considerations, to accept any offers of power in which the whole body is not included; not to suffer themselves to be led, or to be contoured, or to be overbalanced, in office or in council, by those who contradict the very fundamental principles on which their party is formed, and even those upon which every fair connection must stand. Such a generous contention for power, on such manly and honorable maxims, will easily be distinguished from the mean and interested struggle for place and emolument. The very stile of such persons will serve to discriminate them from those numberless imposters, who have deluded the ignorant with professions incompatible with human practice, and have afterwards incensed them by practices below the level of vulgar rectitude."

What does Burke mean by "principle"? Does he mean justice, purity, economy, the general principles of good government? Upon these we are all agreed. They cannot divide us into parties. He must mean some special question of paramount importance. When that question is decided, as in time it must be on what is party to rest?

Between the Whigs, who were for constitutional government, and the Jacobites, who were for Stuart despotism, there was a division which inevitably gave rise to party conflict, not in Parliament only, but in the field of battle. That struggle over, the Jacobites having been finally defeated, party became faction. Party thwarted the wise policy of Walpole, and at last, from sheerly factious motives, drove him into the reckless war with Spain about Jenkinson's ear, responsibility for which, as Burke tells us, was afterwards by its authors coolly disclaimed. Then the parties broke into sections, or interests, caballing and conspiring against each other for place, such as the Bedford interest, the Rockingham interest, the Grenville interest, and afterwards the Shelburne interest. Chatham, soaring above party, refused to combine with any of them, and formed a non-partisan government, the mot-

ley character of which was sharply satirised by Burke. Burke was a liege-man of Rockingham, and wanted that interest to be in power. But what did this preacher of strict party connection himself do? He accepted office under the Government of Fox and North, of all coalitions the most regardless of party ties as well as the most unnatural and the most odious. Afterwards, at the crisis of the French revolution, he turned against the leaders of his party, and became the most vehement assailant of their policy.

Again we must ask, when the question of the day is settled, how is a party to be held together? By conscription or corruption? Practically, it is held together by the machine, which is an organ of corruption, aided by blind passion and a party name.

Some political philosophers would have us believe that party and party government are inborn necessities of our nature. They tell us, as the comic opera does, that we are born little Conservatives or Liberals. What is this but nonsense. There is no line of bisection in human character. The varieties melt into each other by imperceptible gradations. The same man is liberal on some subjects and on other subjects conservative.

In the United States party is now recognized by law, and has overlaid the constitution. The nation is formally and permanently divided into two organized factions, managed by bosses, whose profession is that of a knave. These carry on a perpetual war of intrigue, mutual calumny, and corruption for the prize of the Presidency and its patronage, making really national government impossible. Nothing guards the common interest against the raids of the masters of votes. A group of log-rolling monopolists commands Congress. The Grand Army of the Republic loots the nation to the extent of a hundred and forty millions a year in pensions thirty-seven years after the war, and is going to make it two hundred millions; yet neither party dares to say a word against a fraud which far exceeds all the scandals of monarchical finance. Every four years the country is rent by a struggle for the Presidency almost equal in malignity and fury to civil war. The good sense and patriotism of the people have so far saved the Republic from political wreck. But they will not save it forever. They will in time themselves succumb to the pestilential influence of the system.

Administrative capacity is independent of speculative opinion. But the best of administrators must be dismissed from the public service if he differs in speculative opinion from a party coming into power.

Municipal institutions are infected with the political virus. In New York the Democratic, in Philadelphia the Republican, faction carries on a vast system of municipal rapine under the leadership of its party boss, triumphing as an organized and standing conspiracy over the occasional spasms of unorganized reform.

If division into parties is absurd in the case of a nation, what must it be in the case of a Province, where political questions of importance hardly ever arise, and nothing is needed but good and honest administration? What is there in this Province to distinguish the party which calls itself Conservative from that which calls itself Liberal? Are their professions anything

but watchwords and shibboleths? Are not both equally demagogic? Is there anything to choose between their machines? Yet see how the Province is torn by their contentions and demoralized by their chicanery and corruption. A hundred farmers hitch up on one side, a hundred on the other and drive through rain and snow to nullify each others votes, none of them probably being able to tell upon what issue they are voting. Sinister interests look on, caring nothing for either side, but playing on the balance of parties, for the attainment of objects of their own.

If half the energy now given to the service of party were transferred to the service of the community, how great the progress of the community would be!

We are asked, if we do away with party, what is to take its place? The answer is, Nothing. Elect the members of your Legislature by personal qualifications, as you would elect the members of any other board, and let them appoint the members of your Administrative Council. In Switzerland the members of the Administrative Council are appointed by the National Assembly, and they discharge the functions of a Cabinet in initiating legislation. The system seems to work well. The only difficulty would be in the nominations, which at present are made by the nominating convention; and this would be solved by having two ballots; the first for nomination, the second for election. For the first ballot candidates would send in their names, which they would hardly do without some encouragement, and the ballot would sift the list, throwing out those who had few votes. The second ballot would elect out of the list as sifted by the first. Something like this is already in operation in France, where, if no one gets a clear majority on the first ballot, recourse is had to a second.

Nobody supposes that any system that can be devised will exclude human infirmities and passions, or put an end to selfish ambition, intrigue, and cabal. But at all events we need not have a system plainly organized for evil. Unless democracy can rid itself of such a system, it will fail. Beneficent autocracy will be preferred to a Government which means everlasting, senseless, and demoralizing war, and in which the interests of faction or of those who can control faction are always preferred to the interests of the nation.

My generation is passing off the scene. On your generation, gentlemen of this club, will devolve the task of putting the nation above faction, and thereby preserving free government.

Mr. Alexander Mills, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Goldwin Smith, said:—

Shakespeare described the politician as one that would circumvent God. Pope describes party as the madness of the many for the gain of the few. I am glad the definition of Shakespeare does not apply to our politicians elected by us at the present day, but, gentlemen, without respect of party, without making any distinction one from the other, is there anything that would tempt a man to fulfill the definition given by Shakespeare more than the condition of party politics in the Province of Ontario at the present day? I fear that many

of the citizens of Ontario are either in the position of the Judge or the prisoner in this incident :—A Judge very sternly to a man charged with vagrancy said : “Did you ever earn an honest dollar in your life?” “Oh, yes,” he replied, “I voted for your Honor once.” As I said, I make no distinction whatever between Liberal or Conservative—they are all alike for my purpose, and I wish that to be clearly understood—reverse the machine and it will produce the same article by the same process.

Now, what are the subjects that are discussed in our Provincial Parliament, or that ought to be discussed—education, agriculture, mining, the evils of the liquor traffic, municipal institutions, organization of companies, local railways and the crown lands. Can any man name me any one of these subjects upon which party can divide upon any principle involved in the words Liberal or Conservative. And yet they do divide. Burke, whom our learned guest quoted to-day, I believe, described politics as “the greatest good for the greatest number,” and he is said to have been asked what is the greatest number, to which he replied number one. Now, what have been the subjects that have been discussed in our Legislature for three weeks? I have watched them closely and I have made a list. Here they are : North Renfrew, West Elgin, the Gamey issue, the Legislature called too soon, even the piggery issue, the calf with a cough, the popular majority, barnacles and pirates. Any independent person looking at the fiasco that has been going on in our Provincial Parliament for three weeks and the condition of the machine that has been at work in North Renfrew and in North Oxford—a machine from both sides interfering with local politics—would be justified in saying that Hon. George E. Foster—and who ought to know better than he—was right when he said that every decent churchman ought to go up and down this country preaching the political Gospel, “Damm the machine.” Then men elected by us are above—I confidently say it, for I have had a good deal to do with them—when elected, at least, are above the party system in intelligence and morality. Now, when we see them continuing the farce that we see going on up at the Parliament buildings, we can attribute it to nothing but party politics. I am led to recall those lines of Goldsmith :—

“ Born for creation, narrowed his mind,
To party gave up what was meant for mankind,
Though fraught with all learning, yet straining his throat
To persuade Tommy Townshend to lend him a vote.”

Mr. M. Parkinson, in seconding the motion, said they had listened to words of wisdom from Dr. Smith, and he thought the only thing that each of them could do was, in their own hearts and minds, to register a vow that they would not bind themselves to party any longer. This was a young country, and if there was anything which was likely to run it upon the rocks it seemed to him that it was the situation that had been described to them that afternoon by Dr. Smith. Whenever he had witnessed the taking of a division in the Legislature the force of what Dr. Smith had told them was brought to him. If there was any farce in the world, it was surely to see a division taken upon some question upon which all sane men would agree. If they did not think out this question very seriously their sons would have to do in the future.

President Parker said :—I hope that, as young men, we will not regard the situation that confronts us to-day as new or as hopeless or that a remedy cannot be found. I need only remind you that about a hundred years ago in an election in England, in which William Wilberforce was a candidate, half a million pounds were expended by the three candidates who were contesting the constituency, and that in the administration of Lord Bute a public office was opened in connection with the Treasury for the purpose of purchasing votes for the House of Commons.

Dr. Smith, in conclusion, spoke as follows :—When one gets to my age one shows feebleness, and I am too well aware that I have shown it to-day (cries of "no"). Once more let me say that you, as the rising generation, will have seriously to consider this matter, and that until it is seriously considered, and unless democracy assumes a better form than it is assuming now in the United States—we are not nearly so far gone as they are—democracy will collapse. I have a firm belief in government by the people, as well as of and for the people if it can be purely and wisely administered, but while the party system prevails it cannot be purely and wisely administered—it will go from one depth to another as it is going in the United States, and the end will probably be some reversal of the great strides that humanity has been making for the last two centuries.

(*February 15*)

By J. S. WILLISON

At the next luncheon the subject was further discussed by Mr. J. S. Willison, who spoke as follows:—

The distinguished scholar who addressed you a week ago asked this question : "If you were asked to propose a system of government for a new country, would you choose a system which would divide the people into two factions, and set them fighting each other for all time?" To this we could give only one answer, but it is not clear that Dr. Goldwin Smith sets us a fair proposition. Parties are not made to order. They are born out of great issues. They degenerate into factions. The Whig party and the Liberal party of Great Britain represent generations of struggle for political and social reform. The Republican party of the United States was the legitimate outcome of the Northern movement against the system of black slavery. The Liberal party of Canada was the direct product of the struggle for responsible Government. The evil is not in the creation of parties, nor in the existence of parties, but in their misuse and abuse for personal objects. In fact, the story of party in its best aspect is the shining record of the advance and triumph of civil and religious liberty the world over. It was Disraeli who said that England did not love coalitions, and it is doubtful if free Parliamentary government could reach its full dignity and efficiency under any but the party system. It is one thing to admit the evils of party, and another to con-

template the bitter personal rivalries, the plottings of petty factions, and the underground manoeuvres of organized interests which must inevitably come with the disappearance of the party system of Parliamentary government. New Brunswick and British Columbia have had government by coalition, and it can hardly be said that the results compare favorably with the administration of affairs under party in Ontario and Manitoba. If there is one thing we dread more than a weak party government it is a weak coalition, and, therefore, upon the whole, we shall probably gain more by honest effort to improve the system of party than by any attempt to substitute government by personal authority and isolated factions for the ancient and orderly system of party organization and party responsibility.

There is one outstanding reason why party government has been more successful in Great Britain than on this continent. In the main, parties are organized upon national questions, and under the Federal system, which obtains in Canada and the United States, there is a natural disposition to carry Federal issues into Provincial and municipal affairs where they cannot belong. Hence issues which are entirely legitimate in the national field become positively mischievous when introduced into the narrower areas. The business of municipal politicians is to deal with municipal questions, of Provincial politicians to deal with Provincial questions, and of national statesmen to deal with national affairs. It is quite conceivable that there might be municipal questions upon which the people would naturally divide into two parties, and so with Provincial questions, but it is not conceivable that sane men should think that the tariff, or the government of the Yukon Territory, or the adjustment of Imperial or foreign relations constitute legitimate issues in the municipal affairs of Toronto or in the Provincial affairs of Ontario. If you say that this is the necessary result of the party system, I answer that so long as we have a Federal constitution it would be the probable result under any other system, and that it is our business to establish better conceptions of citizenship and set a clearer limitation upon the obligations of party. The truth is that it is not the existence of party upon the sound grounds which warrant party organization, but the idolatry of party upon no rational ground whatever which curses modern communities.

As I have tried to say, men naturally divide into party when some great issue absorbs the nation. When the issue is settled they are released from their obligation. When no great issue appears party loyalty is conditional upon honest and efficient government. There is no more reason that one should adopt his grandfather's political opinions than that he should wear his grandfather's coat. There is no more reason that one should carry the hereditary principle into politics than that he should desire to have gout because it was in the family. The fact that a party in other days championed responsible government, and improved the election laws and adopted the ballot, constitutes no reason that we should adhere to its fortunes if it violates the constitution or corrupts the voters' lists, or invades the sanctity of the ballot boxes. A party which has championed protection would have no claim upon

its former adherents if it should turn to free trade, although that perhaps is not a conceivable idea in this country just at present. A party which pledges itself to honest elections and upright administration, and then practices corruption and governs dishonestly and inefficiently, absolves its supporters from their allegiance. But the fact is that in any or all of these cases it would not be the leaders who had betrayed their supporters, but the supporters who should withdraw their confidence, who would be denounced as weaklings and traitors, and held to have suffered discredit and loss of reputation. The citizen who dares to step out of his old party alliances is likely to be regarded by one-half of his former associates as a fool and by the other half as a knave, and he is indeed fortunate if ten per cent. of the community can be persuaded that he is not settling a private grudge with politicians who had rejected his counsel, refused him office, or denied him some other recognition which he coveted. Something very like a condition of terrorism has been established, and slander goes very busily at the heels of any man who may have the hardihood to declare his own opinions, and to imagine that the sounding refrain of "Rule Britannia" has an application to party politics. Half a dozen squaws, in single file, marched up the street of a western town selling baskets, but as only the leader knew English she shouted her wares, and all behind said, "Me too," "Me too," "Me too." The modern political party is a vastly more marvellous "me too" organization than the mind of primitive man could ever have conceived. The miracle of human faith is the confidence of the average partisan in his political leaders, as the miracle of human credulity is his ineradicable belief in the dishonesty, the hypocrisy and the incompetence of the leaders of the other party. If we had half as much apprehension of what may happen at the day of judgment as we have fear of what may happen if our party should go out of office, there would be such a revival of religion all over this country as the pioneer circuit riders never witnessed.

When I was a boy I heard the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie say, with a gleam of his keen Scotch humor, that the heart of the average Tory was deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. If you have read Mr. Russell's 'Recollections' you will remember that it is told of the first Earl of Leicester that when he was a child his grandfather took him on his knee and said: 'Now, remember, Tom, never trust a Tory,' and he used to say, 'I never have, and, by heaven, I never will.' And there is that other story of the young daughter of a great Whig statesman who asked her mother if Tories were born wicked or did they grow wicked afterwards, and the mother judiciously replied, 'They are born wicked and grow worse.' You will notice that all my illustrations have a partisan flavor, and that is doubtless due to my political training. Now, all this is the fanaticism of party, and it is the source of many of the defects and evils of popular government. In all the common relations of life we cannot distinguish between Liberals and Conservatives, and I find it impossible to think that for more than thirty years the Conservative party has been incapable of governing this Province of Ontario. Nor could I ever think that for the first thirty years of Confederation it was vital to this coun-

try that its government should be in the hands of Conservatives. If in the realm of business I were to tell you that, owing to inherited sin or congenital incapacity, a group of Conservatives could not build a railway, or direct the affairs of an educational bureau, or administer the Crown Lands, or manage a public institution, you would want to send me to a retreat for the feeble-minded, or perhaps read me a sermon on Christian charity, and yet, in the realm of politics, we practically declare that that has been the condition of the Conservative party in this Province for a third of a century. The same curious distrust of the Liberal party in Federal affairs persisted though a whole generation.

The genius of party organization requires changes of government, and only by alternate drafts upon the legislative skill and administrative capacity of rival groups of political leaders can we get the best results out of the British constitutional system. It is my very firm conviction that the long continuance of one party in office is bad for the party and bad for the State, repressive of public spirit, and hurtful to the public morals. You may change systems and reorganize parties, and multiply checks and safeguards, but it all comes back to this, that a vitalized public opinion and a sensitive public morality are the only guarantees for honest government. When I was on the field of Waterloo some years ago, some one said to the old guide, 'Who were the bravest in the battle,' and he answered simply enough, 'There are brave men everywhere.' So there are honest men everywhere, and we need have no fear that this country depends for its progress and prosperity upon any one political party or any one set of political leaders, and when we get rid of that notion not much will remain to be done. If you would have an end of electoral crookedness, you must punish governments which profit by electoral crookedness. If you would have the constitution respected, you must punish Governments which profit by its violation. If you would have a free and energetic public opinion you must encourage its expression and discourage party servitude. Two hundred resolute men in any constituency can command fair dealing and fair fighting to the great advantage of the country and the great advantage of the party to which they may belong.

I should like to have in Canada the free conditions of opinion which prevail in Great Britain. There is a motto with which I was exceedingly familiar for many years, and for which as the days pass over my head I have an increasing respect. It was adopted as the rule of his public life by one of the greatest political figures in Canadian history. It is known to you all: 'The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures.' In essence that means free speech for free men in a free country. It is the supreme privilege of British citizenship, and it is the safety and the glory of British institutions. The citizen owes his first allegiance, not to an inherited creed or to a particular organization, but to his conscience and his judgment. That was the creed and the practice of George Brown, and if you will study his career you will find that he was a great leader of movements which made for freedom and progress in Canada, but often a disobedient follower and often an uncomfortable leader of party. None of us may hope to rise

to the stature of George Brown, but at least we may learn from his career the lessons of honest thinking and plain speaking, which constituted his best service to his country.

Canada is worth our utmost devotion. It demands the earnest participation of its best citizens in the management of its affairs. I have just as much respect for the common patronage hunter as for the superior person who declares his contempt for public life and public service. This country will be what we shall make it. The tone of its public life will be just as high as the average tone of its citizens. Its standard among the nations will be determined largely by the candor and freedom which obtain in its public discussions, the character of its political methods, the ideals of its political leaders, the common devotion of its citizens to civic duties and national concerns. Ontario has lost something of her ascendancy in the Canadian Confederation. She has lost in political leadership, in political vigor, in public spirit, and in moral purpose. But out of such clubs as this may proceed the influences that will restore the truer note and the higher motive to Canadian politics.

It is true, as Sir John Macdonald so often said, and as Sir Wilfrid Laurier professes to have discovered, that this is a hard country to govern, and it is right that we should have a large toleration for statesmen who must labor to reconcile conflicting commercial and sectional demands, and to harmonize various creeds and races, but we cannot afford to admit that bribery of individuals, or bribery of localities, or organized electoral corruption, or secret compacts with corporate interests are the legitimate solvents of political difficulties. The darkey who lost the proceeds of the church festival in a game of poker, when asked for an explanation simply said, 'Pastor, we is all human, and de game am werry exciting.' But, exciting as may be the great game of party politics, it is an evil day for free institutions when any such easy and complacent temper prevails in the sphere of government. The world does not think well of the political methods and the political standards of the United States, and that impression of their politics affects the whole character of the American people. The world thinks well of British political methods, and finds high rectitude in British statesmen, and the impression gives dignity and authority to the mother country, and the last touch of character to the British people. It is for us to determine whether we shall maintain British or American ideals and conditions in Canada.

Hon. R. P. Roblin, Premier of Manitoba; Mr. A. E. Kemp, M.P., and Mr. Leonard were also guests of the club. Mr. Roblin spoke briefly, expressing the hope that in the near future he would be able to address the club on Canada's great west.

(February 22)

The Eastern Situation

BY DR. J. G. EVANS

The situation that exists among Russia, Japan and the other nations who have interests in the far east was discussed on February 22 by Dr. J. G. Evans, who spent ten years in Asia.

The press and people of the world, said Dr. Evans, seemed to have lost sight of the real cause of the present war. It was not a question of maintaining an open commercial door in China and Korea, nor a question of suzerainty of Korea. Peter the Great's legacy to Russia was an injunction to push eastward and southward. To acquire a free coast line was necessary for the perpetuation of the Russian Empire. Working toward this object to the south Russia had brought on the Crimean war. Working towards the same object in the east Russia had acquired by bribes a footing at Port Arthur. Working still to maintain and extend that foothold, she had precipitated the present war. England, Germany and the United States had protested unavailingly, but Japan, seeing in the Russian advance a menace to its own safety, had backed up its protest with its army and navy, and this was the beginning of the struggle.

I believe, said Dr. Evans, that Russia is elated in heaven for a defeat. Not all the world can prevent the pushing, energetic Japs from securing a victory which will keep Russia within its present borders for the remainder of its national existence.

Russia, knowing the loss of prestige which it would suffer if defeated by the Japs single-handed, was trying to involve another nation so that it would have an excuse for its defeat. This was the reason why it was threatening to stop the British advance in Thibet. It would be interesting to watch the stopping process. Once the flag of Great Britain advanced, it never retreated, and Dr. Evans said he was British enough to believe the day was coming when that glorious flag would conquer and rule the whole world, not only politically and commercially, but morally and spiritually.

Russia was trying to involve England in war because she felt it would be an honor to be whipped by England. Other powers would also probably be involved, among them Germany, France and the United States. The interests of the latter lay all with those of England, and the world now had to reckon on the two great Anglo-Saxon nations instead of one. Only the jingo element in each nation wished to keep Uncle Sam and John Bull apart.

Speaking of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Dr. Evans pointed out that its branches, some of which had barely been heard of in the western world, were

all directed to the south, showing Russia's designs on the territory of other nations. In several of them, however, including the Euphrates Valley Railway, loyal English capitalists had quietly acquired a controlling interest, and they would never see the rails desecrated by the transportation of men or munitions of war directed against England.

Russia was confronted by internal as well as external difficulties. The Jewish population had no reason to love Russia, especially since the Kishineff massacres, while the strong Nihilist element was only awaiting an opportunity to rise against the Administration. This opportunity would be given when the present trouble became a real war, instead of being a spanking administered by the plucky Japs.

With these difficulties within and without, and with the Anglo-Saxon powers ranged against her, how, in the name of God, can Russia hope to emerge with the slightest degree of honor left? asked Dr. Evans. Russia had all at stake, as if defeated in the present war she must take a secondary position among the powers.

Dr. Evans said it would take Russia six months to place at the seat of war the 150,000 troops which she can spare from home. Of these the majority were pressed men. Japan, on the contrary, could within fourteen days have 300,000 loyal volunteers in the field.

Speaking of the morality of the Russian nation, Dr. Evans said that if Russia was Christian, he might be counted in on the side of the heathen. Church Russian. The defeat of Russia in the present war would not only be a boon to the commerce of the world, but it would materially benefit the moral welfare of the Orient.

(February 24)

V

Build up Canada

By SIR SANDFORD FLEMING, C.E., K.C.M.G.,
Chancellor of Queen's University

At the February evening meeting Sir Sandford Fleming and Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P., were the guests of the Club, the former taking for his subject the title "Build up Canada," and the latter devoting his remarks to the Hudson Bay question. Sir Sandford Fleming spoke as follows :—

"Build up Canada," is the subject on which I am here to-day to submit a few words. Possibly some members of the Club hold that another subject, "build up the Empire," is on a loftier plane, but the two are so closely related in my mind that I regard them as inseparable. I am unable to see that we can build up a part without building up the whole, and I am sure it is our wish and our belief that the two never shall be parted. This much we all recognize, that the Dominion of Canada could never have existed, and never can exist in its present happy condition without the mother country. Moreover, we are firmly convinced that the Empire of the 20th century would be as incomplete without Canada as a great mural arch without its indispensable keystone.

When I was asked to speak on this occasion and the subject was broached, my memory went back many years to another occasion when I had the temerity to submit some thoughts on practically the same topic. It was not in Toronto that I spoke. It was at a large gathering of the good people of Port Hope, in their town hall in the Christmas week of the year 1858. My diffident and faltering words on that occasion were dignified by the name of a lecture when they came to be printed in half a dozen columns of the local newspaper, the "Port Hope Weekly Guide," issued on December 25th of that year. A mere reference to the date reminds us not only of the flight of time, but likewise of the immense strides we have made in every direction since that period.

The subject which I am again to refer to is many sided. I shall, however, confine my remarks as I did 45 years ago chiefly to one aspect of it. In the short time you may be good enough to listen to me, I shall refer mainly to lines of communication, and I think you will agree with me that the development of the great avenues of traffic may be regarded as a fair index of the general advancement of the country.

Let me then, in, the first place, remind you that in 1858 there was not, throughout the whole extent of North or South America, a single trans-continental railway ; that there was scarcely a mile of railway in the United States west of Mississippi, and a very small mileage west of Chicago ; that the greater, and by far the most valuable, portion of what is now known as the Dominion was

held as a vast hunting ground by the Hudson Bay Company, and it was indeed fortunate that it was so held, as the present and future generations of Canadians will testify. At that date, the eight or ten provinces and territories west of the longitude of Lake Superior were not thought of. British Columbia itself was not even a Crown colony. The City of Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion was unknown. Winnipeg did not then exist. Ten years later, there were only a few people around Fort Garry and along the banks of the river—chiefly Scotch and French half-breeds—known as “the Red River settlers.” Exclusive of pure Indians there were probably not more than 8,000 in the whole Northwest. The settlers were shut off from the outer world, except by such means of communication as that furnished by dog trains in winter and canoes in summer, together with Red River carts. It is a remarkable fact that in 1868 the inhabitants of that country, which now exports yearly tens of millions of bushels of wheat, were nearing starvation for want of it, owing to the devastation of a plague of grasshoppers. The Red River settlers gratefully received some thousands of bushels of grain, purchased by the generous minded in the eastern Canadian cities and transported in carts across the plains from the nearest railway station, some 500 or 600 miles south of what is now the metropolis of Manitoba.

Long before this date, the British North American Provinces were not without pioneer builders. There were the far-seeing men who projected and subsequently built the Welland Canal, the Rideau Canal, the St. Lawrence Canals and designed the Trent Valley Canal. We must likewise bear in remembrance those who projected the Shubenacadie, the Bay Verte and the two Georgian Bay Canals, one of the latter designed to terminate at Toronto, the other to use the River Ottawa. If all these projects have not become accomplished facts, we must nevertheless extend to those who promoted them the credit which is due for their patriotic intentions. In 1858 there were striking illustrations of progress within the Empire; in that year the first Atlantic cable was laid and the Great Eastern was launched.

In 1858 the Railway Era had commenced in Canada. We had in operation the line from Toronto to Collingwood, the Grand Trunk in part and the Great Western in part. There were several smaller railways extending northerly from Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence into a region rich in pine. In that day there were a few public spirited, sanguine men who had the hardihood to peer through the pine forests and a wooded wilderness of a thousand miles to Canada’s richest heritage, the prairie region. Again, their mental vision carried them across the rolling prairies another thousand miles to gaze on the mountains, with the setting sun and the ocean beyond them.

These daring, shall I say visionary, spirits did not think Canada was destined to stop short at the Georgian Bay and the tier of counties lying eastward of Lake Simcoe. There were dense forests to subdue. The Otonabee, the Trent, the Ottawa and other rivers had abundance of water power to prepare for exportation the timber then growing in the tributary forests. It required no seer to see that these forests would become exhausted, and that new fields and other sources of industry would have to be sought out. Precisely as we have to-day,

there were men then, who inscribed on their banners the words "build up Canada," and, visionary and impracticable as it seemed to many, they formed the resolution to carry their standard across the home of the Buffalo and the distant Rocky Mountains.

In these few words, we have the inception of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To a large number of people it undoubtedly was regarded as an idle fancy, as the dream of chimerical men, never to be realized. The enormously large works involved were not common at that stage in the history of engineering undertakings. The proposal to build a railway through uninhabited British North America over one of the great mountain ranges of the globe, across a roadless continent, respecting much of which nothing was known, was a project, when looked at soberly by the practical man, which passed at a single leap from the plain of ordinary undertakings to the lofty sphere of enterprises of the grandest description. It surpassed in every element of magnitude and cost, and probably also in physical difficulties, any work ever previously undertaken by man.

But what were the purposes to be achieved? Were they not inestimably important? Wonderful commercial results could be counted on, and it was felt that the national, the Imperial, advantages and possibilities were far beyond the conception of the most sanguine of far-seeing men. The undertaking would have an immediate effect in expanding Canada, then limited to two provinces in the Valley of the St. Lawrence; it would be of the greatest advantage to the mother country in opening up new channels for the enterprise of British merchants. The railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific when completed would bring nearer to England her eastern empire; it would unite with a new bond the interests and the affections of the Queen's subjects in Europe, Asia, Australasia and America; it would secure in perpetuity British dominion upon this continent; it would promote the occupation and civilization of half a continent and go a long way to lay the foundation of what might be regarded as a Canadian Empire.

I have in part quoted from an old issue of the "Weekly Guide." Perhaps I may be forgiven if I read another sentence, picturing a phase of daily railway traffic in the then distant future.

"Train after train from the Pacific laden with the wealth of eastern climes. The Indian Nabob returning to his native land. The fat Chinaman in his fantastic dress. The native prince accompanied with all the pomp and splendor of eastern magnificence, all passing panoramic-like before you on their way to pay homage to our Royal Mistress."

This picture was held up to a past generation of Canadians; to men more familiar than now with the laborious work of removing the forest by axe and fire, and with the process by which the stately pines were cut into logs and sawn into lumber; the picture had indeed a feature of incongruity, but even at that early date it did not appear to be received with derision. Canadians then had that faith in the future which, I rejoice to believe, their descendants have not lost.

There is a wide interval of time between then and now. During the forty-five years which have passed many hands and many minds have been actively engaged in building up Canada. One and all have done their part, each in his own sphere has helped to advance our country and shape its history. An occasional retrospective glance such as I have indulged in, is not undesirable for many reasons, but we must never forget to look forward. The advancement of the Dominion should be, and is, the first consideration with every true Canadian. To build up Canada and give her a prominent place among the nations, is our legitimate ambition, and we must see that the elements of national strength are steadily kept in view. If much has been accomplished, much also remains to be done, and we must all endeavor to see that it is well and wisely done.

In erecting an ordinary house, or in carrying out any undertaking, every intelligent man sets before him a general plan. In building up a State precisely the same course should be followed, and, above all things, the prudent far-seeing State-builder will endeavor to secure the elements of strength in the foundations and in the frame work of the national structure. In this respect let us see where we stand. We have certainly commenced on no insignificant scale. We have taken possession of the great inheritance which the mother country has generously passed over to our ownership, a vast inheritance fronting on three oceans. We have assumed all the responsibilities of ownership and occupation. We have made a beginning towards its development; among other things, we have established a continuous line of railway from the most eastern to the most western province. This is a beginning, but it is far from being adequate. We all know that no edifice will remain erect on a single wall, that no tower will stand with but one corner stone. It is patent to every person that any structure whatever, in order to stand the stress of time, must be given a broad and sure foundation.

Taking our railway system as an index of our development, let us spread before us a railway map of the Dominion. What do we find? Ontario east of Lake Huron, Quebec bordering the St. Lawrence, and in part New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are provided with a network of railways. Manitoba, at least its southern half, is gridironed with railways, and railways are being rapidly extended westward. East of Manitoba, however as far as Lake Huron, indeed almost to the River Ottawa, there is comparatively little to indicate progress. There is, in truth, absolutely nothing for hundreds of miles near Lake Superior if we pass out of sight of the single track of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In this one fact, we have disclosed to us a remarkable circumstance which, in my judgment, demands serious and immediate attention.

The railway development in and beyond Manitoba is an indication of the rapid settlement of that portion of the Dominion. Looking forward into the future, it is easy to be seen that the population of the west will be rapidly increased. It may indeed be regarded as a certainty that the time is not remote when there will be as many inhabitants west of Lake Winnipeg as east of Lake Superior. What then will follow, if meanwhile no sufficient effort be made to reclaim the vast intervening territory? Obviously, our people will be

geographically divided. Within the limits of the Dominion there will be two great groups distinctly separated by a vast unpopulated wilderness, constituting a dangerous area of cleavage. It is impossible to forecast the outcome of this separation of the Canadian people. We are unwilling to think that political separation will follow, but we must not hide our heads in the sand and remain in a fool's paradise. We must look at facts, and we shall see that there is a grave danger of a gradual alienation of the separated inhabitants with the possibility of some new political combination. We have no means of foretelling what may come in another generation, but this we know, that mighty changes often come suddenly. The physical link between the two widely sundered halves of the population would be exceedingly slender, even if the single railway line along the coast of the lake be double tracked or quadrupled. We can imagine how easy it would be for a flotilla any day to render the railway useless, or a filibustering organization to land any night at a preconcerted hour and, at a score of places, destroy the line of communication. Such expeditions need not necessarily be connected with the neighboring republic. The agents of any foreign unfriendly power would have little difficulty in secretly arranging a sudden descent at a critical moment.

I have indicated in a few words that there is a vital problem presented for solution, a problem which cannot with safety be neglected. Ordinary foresight points out to us a real and a double danger. (1) Under certain circumstances the unity of the Dominion, it may be said, will practically hang on a thread. (2) If the unity of the Dominion be left insecure, the integrity of the Empire will be imperilled. I would ask, by way of illustration, how could the globe girdling British telegraphs be maintained if disjointed at Lake Superior? The nerves of the Empire can follow no route across North or South America, between the two oceans, except through united Canada. Again, how could British sailors be sent across the continent to man the Pacific fleet if the continuity of the communication be broken between the two oceans? These mere random illustrations to show the jeopardy of our situation will suffice.

Forewarned is forearmed. I have pointed out a great and unmistakable weakness. To substitute strength for weakness obviously is a matter which concerns our country to its inmost depth. A solution to this vital problem will be found in the watch words "build up Canada."

For twenty degrees of longitude east of Manitoba, and stretching far north of the latitude of Lake Superior, there extends a vast territory respecting which comparatively little is known. In order to comprehend its extent let us look at the map. Draw a line from the northeast angle of the Province of Saskatchewan to the River Saguenay, where it enters the St. Lawrence, after passing the farming settlements around Lake St. John. West of these settlements the line drawn is some where about 1,100 miles in length. The line is generally parallel to the Canadian Pacific Railway between the River Ottawa and Manitoba, and some 350 or 400 miles north thereof. Between the two lines there is a space equal in area to more than four provinces of Manitoba. This space remains entirely in a state of nature. It is almost unmapped, wholly unopened, wholly unsettled, practically without a white inhabitant.

It is not an outlying tract, away from the body of the Dominion. The map shows that much of it is in the geographical centre of our country and may be regarded as the body itself. So far as known, its climate is not widely different from other parts of Canada which have long been settled. From recorded metereological observations, Moose Factory, on its northern side and on the margin of Hudson Bay, has a winter and summer temperature much the same as Winnipeg, and the average snowfall is less than half that of Montreal or Quebec. It cannot be compared in general fertility or readiness of access to the rich open prairie. The worst that can be said of this great region is that it is woodland wilderness; it would scarcely be correct to speak of it as an inhospitable waste, for the same may be said of all such lands in their natural condition, and until opened up by railways and roads, and made available for human industry. The territory in question is the natural home of pulp wood, and of this forest wealth we may look for an inexhaustible supply. What did the well-informed Minister of Agriculture state in a public address delivered at Sherbrooke a few weeks back? He spoke of this northern region as "a country in which we know there is a great abundance of splendid agricultural land; in which we know there is an enormous amount of lumber ready for the hand of man to develop; in which we know there are enormous areas of trees and that there are water powers especially well adapted for the pulp and paper making industry." I would add to what the Minister mentioned, that a region so vast must contain hidden and undisturbed mineral deposits. We know that near its southern margin, between the Ottawa Valley and Lake Superior, explorations have revealed enormous wealth in nickel and iron ores. Surely we are warranted in the expectation that similar mineral wealth will be discovered in other portions of a region as yet so little known.

In a country so extensive as this, a tract of virgin wild land, more than double the superficial area of England, Ireland and Scotland combined, we may look for varied natural assets awaiting development. We already have it reported that in some northern sections there are deposits of peat on an enormous scale. (Mr. E. P. Barron, in his report to the Government on New Ontario, states:—"I do not know of any part of the Dominion of Canada or indeed any part of the world where peat mosses or bogs are nearly so extensive as they appear to be in the basin of Hudson Bay.") Such being the case, I see every reason for efforts being eventually made with every prospect of success, to produce admirable fuel for locomotives and for all purposes. The attempts to compress peat in Canada have not generally been in all respects satisfactory, but I understand that a process is in use in Germany, Sweden and Russia by which the great peat deposits are converted into coke, which in quality is not inferior to anthracite, and which is produced at much less cost than anthracite is sold in Toronto. Moreover, the process results in yielding a number of by-products of great commercial value. If such a process proves equally successful in northern Canada, enormous advantages will follow, as the best of fuel would be available on the spot without the necessity of importing it from a foreign country or from distant provinces.

Another feature of the new northern country is the existence of numerous water powers. These, too, may be used in a variety of ways, either in each separate locality or converted into electrical energy for transportation or for other purposes. These few scattered facts suggest the possibility and the prospect of developing many industrial enterprises throughout the wide domain.

Looking forward but a few years, the Dominion may come to possess in the hinterland of Ontario a new seaport. As is well known, the northern boundary of Ontario reaches Moose Factory, on the south coast of Hudson Bay. Perhaps Moose Factory may not be the best naval point on that great inland sea, but whatever point may be favored, the new seaport would, in some respects, resemble Archangel. That Russian port is in a parallel of latitude $13\frac{1}{2}$ degrees (or more than 900 miles) farther north than Moose Factory. Archangel is a seaport of importance, with a dockyard, and a prosperous shipping trade; its population is not inferior to some of our Canadian cities, and before the founding of St. Petersburg it was long the only seaport within the limits of Russia. Can any person now living foretell what the only seaport of Ontario many yet become?

In an address at the Guildhall, London, quite recently Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that 130 years ago a great statesman of the neighboring republic—Mr. Alexander Henderson—bequeathed a precious legacy to his countrymen when he said to them, "Learn to think continentally." The late Secretary of State for the Colonies gave an equally precious message to those whom he addressed, when he said, "Learn to think Imperially." We in Canada will do well to take to heart both messages and "learn to think" at one and the same time "continentally and Imperially." What I ask might too soon follow if we remain inert in thought and sluggish in action. What, if we spurn the advice of both statesmen, and at this stage in our history remain basking in fancied security? The grave matter I have touched upon is not a local question simply. It does not alone concern any one city or any one province. It is a large question in which the whole Dominion is profoundly interested. The citizens of Toronto, of Montreal, of Winnipeg, equally with the citizens of Halifax, Quebec and Vancouver, should think of it "continentally and Imperially." If they so view it, I am satisfied each and all will reach the conclusion that, in the whole range of the Dominion, there is no question which demands more wise and more patriotic consideration. Between the Atlantic and the Pacific, there is nothing more urgently needed than the opening up, the settlement and the development of that vast unpeopled wilderness to which I have directed your attention. It is with the utmost deference I submit, in the interest of the Canadian people, that their representatives in Parliament will inadequately discharge their responsibilities if they fail to adopt the most effective means of building up Canada, where breadth and strength and consolidation are wanting so conspicuously.

We may all have a feeling of satisfaction that there are indications of a movement being made in the proper direction. The Government at Ottawa, and the Governments at Quebec and Toronto each appear to be awakening to the necessity of active measures being taken. The Provincial Governments

have made attempts to push one or two colonization railways into the territory. At the close of last session of Parliament at Ottawa, after much discussion, an act was passed respecting the construction of a new transcontinental railway. The latter will certainly prove immensely important if carried out, with special regard to the opening up and occupation of the vast region to which I specially point, comprising southern Keewatin, northern Ontario and western Quebec. It is to be earnestly wished that the action taken by the Federal and Provincial Parliaments is merely the beginning of a comprehensive scheme of inter-communication and colonization. It is hoped that the several governments will come to a common understanding as to the true policy to be persistently followed in the interests of the whole country. Obviously, the national railway contemplated by the Federal Government, if it is constructed on the shortest line from Quebec to Port Simpson, will form an excellent inter-provincial connection, and at the same time an exceedingly desirable base from which the Provincial Governments, each within its own territory, would undertake the establishment of branch railways and the ordinary roads required by settlers.

There are three strikingly important points on the map which I have marked in bold letters. Quebec is lettered A, Norway House at the north end of Lake Winnipeg is denoted by B and Port Simpson by C. The three letters are very nearly in a straight line, a fact which goes to establish that if a railway be constructed from A to B, and from B to C, we may secure the shortest railway from ocean to ocean. At the point B, the whole line is approximately divided into halves, but the halves are not equally important, at least their construction is not equally urgent. While provision should be made for establishing the whole trans-continental line eventually, the construction of the extreme western end might very well be made a matter of time. There are the strongest reasons, however, why no time should be lost in completing that portion of the national highway which extends from Quebec into the great wheat fields of the Northwest.

Probably there are some persons who may think that the proposal to carry the new trans-continental railway by a northern route will be scouted by the people of Winnipeg en masse. I do not share that opinion. I am satisfied that the right minded patriotic citizens of Winnipeg will view the whole question "Continently and Imperially." I submit the following reasons why the new railway highway should be constructed on a northern route :

(1) It will be universally recognized that it is not in the public interests to have all the great lines of communication of the Dominion, between the east and the west, passing along the immediate shores of Lake Superior. This admitted, every argument applies, only in a less degree, against bringing all the through avenues of traffic so near the frontier as Winnipeg. Obviously, our plans for the future should be formed so as to avoid the concentration of the whole traffic of the great Northwest at any one point near the frontier. The physical features of the country do not render it necessary, and such a course is manifestly undesirable in the interest of Canadian Commerce. Does not a large bulk of Manitoba grain now find its way through the United

States to be shipped from United States seaports? According to reliable authority, six, eight and ten million bushels a year have been so shipped. Sir Thomas Shaughnessy stated to the Canadian Club a few weeks ago that last year it reached nearly 15,000,000 bushels, and it may be expected that this transfer from Canadian to United States channels will go on increasing with the increase in the total yield.

(2) Winnipeg is the metropolis of Manitoba, but the fertile plains of Manitoba constitute but a fraction, perhaps not an eighth, of the vast fertile area of the Northwest. If we add to Manitoba all the prairie country westward to the mountains and as far north as the Province of Saskatchewan, we have an extensive region which may properly be regarded as tributary to Winnipeg. There remains to be opened up by far the larger half of the productive Northwest. An inspection of the map will satisfy anyone that unquestionably the northern half can best be served by the construction of a trunk railway on the northern route.

(3) A railway built on the northern route would be the shortest line between the two oceans, besides being the most direct for the products of the northern half of the prairie region to the nearest Canadian shipping ports.

(4) By establishing on the northern route a modern first-class railway, devoid of gradients and every other hindrance to cheap transportation, we would possess the means of carrying the products of the northern half of the prairie region to Canadian tidal ports, at all seasons of the year, at less cost than by any other route whatever. The advantages of the lake route have been much extolled. Transportation by water certainly has advantages under certain circumstances, but it also has limitations due to climatic and geographical conditions. In all probability the country west of Winnipeg, and Winnipeg itself, will continue to enjoy during summer all the advantages which the lakes can yield, but there is a vast cultivable country farther north and west, from which, it is believed, freight may be carried to Quebec by railway on the northern route at less cost than by the lake route. Of course, it will be understood that this is conditional upon the line to be constructed being free from such gradients as we find on ordinary Canadian railways, a condition which can only be definitely determined by adequate surveys. Should such a favorable line be established as is believed possible, I venture to state that, owing to the reduced total mileage, and, still more, owing to the reduced gradients on the new line, grain may be carried to Quebec by the direct route at less cost than by the southern route, even if carried almost free of charge across the lakes from Fort William to Depot Harbor, Owen Sound or Sarnia. This, of course, only applies to the half year of open navigation. During the other half year the northern route would be without a rival worthy of the name.

(5) A railway constructed on the northern route would, at all times and seasons, be a reliable outlet from the granary of the Empire in the heart of Canada to tidewater. Moreover, at Quebec in summer, and at the open ports of the Maritime Provinces in winter, the ships transporting produce to Great Britain would, when necessary, be placed under the express protection of the British fleet.

(6) Such a railway constructed between Quebec and the western prairies on the northern route would be a national highway in every sense. Its immediate effect would be to broaden the Dominion, to add strength where strength is so much needed, to establish many new centres of industry, and thus the country would steadily become populated and consolidated. What is now a widespread wilderness would be converted into one of the most important divisions of the Dominion.

I have not touched on the military reason for establishing a railway far to the rear of Lake Superior. I leave that branch of the subject for others to deal with. I merely submit some reasons in favor of the policy of establishing the proposed new national railway by the shortest route. I shall conclude in the words of the Prime Minister in addressing the people of Montreal two or three weeks back. You will recognize that the same words which he spoke are as applicable to the citizens of Toronto as they are to the citizens of Montreal, and they are peculiarly applicable to the people of Winnipeg. I shall read from the report of Sir Wilfrid's address as it appeared in the Montreal Herald of February 8th.

"I say that this railway must run by the shortest route; if Montreal were on the shortest route the railway would pass Montreal. But if Montreal is not on the shortest route, is there a man in the City of Montreal who will object to the line going by the shortest route? I have a different opinion of the patriotism of the men of Montreal, a different idea of their spirit."

I am quite sure Sir Wilfrid has the same high opinion of the men of Toronto and the men of Winnipeg as he has of the men of Montreal. I am satisfied that when the people of Winnipeg come to know that the maximum of good will result to the Dominion as a whole if the new national railway be carried by the shortest route, that is to say the route denoted on the map by the letters A B C, they will be the readiest to assent to the proposal.

I have submitted to you, in an imperfect fashion, a sketch of some circumstances connected with the development of the leading lines of inter-communication in the Dominion. All that now belongs to the past; it may be regarded as the pioneer and preliminary work in the evolution of a nation. We have now reached the beginning of a new chapter in our history when, with unabated interest in all that concerns our welfare, new energy and fresh vitality are demanded in the work of consolidation. I am not advocating any far away project. I have felt it my duty to point out that there is a vast, new and neglected field practically at our doors. By the progress of events Canada is now brought face to face with a great three-fold problem. (1) To reclaim an unpopulated wilderness of immense extent and of unknown value near the heart of the Dominion. (2) To establish a second trans-continental railway on the shortest practicable route between the tidewater of the Atlantic and the tidewater of the Pacific. (3) To construct the eastern half of the trans-continental railway as a national highway—an Imperial highway to convey the products of our illimitable wheat fields to our own seaports for transportation to market at lower rates than by any other route. If such can be accomplished, as I believe it can, I am satisfied

that nothing else would so much make for national solidarity. Nothing else would so advance Canada and fit her to take her permanent and proper place in the galaxy of British States constituting the new Empire.

Those of us who have always had a living interest in the welfare of our country will see from what I have submitted that there are dangers to be guarded against, to which we should not shut our eyes—all will recognize that we should be on the alert—that we should take time by the forelock and seek to avert such dangers ; that we should continually make progress, but that our progress should be made in harmony with the dictates of prudence and common sense.

In the words of our Finance Minister, there is abundant evidence to show that "the Canadian Government and people are determined in all ways to promote Imperial unity." I submit that we can materially promote the unity of the Empire by discharging a duty very near us—a duty vital to our own permanency and prosperity. Many of us, perhaps all of us, have had from early days faith in the future of Canada. For my own part, I am more convinced than ever I was that, through the powerful and peaceful influence, by sea and land, of the twin sisters of civilization, steam and electricity, rightly directed our future is assured.

We are proud to feel that our country is no small factor in the great British twentieth century Empire. We have room and to spare in our wide domain for a large augmentation to our industrious intelligent and moral population, and we throw open our doors to all such as may be prepared to face a somewhat rigorous climate and to overcome difficulties in subduing the wilderness. To such as may join us in developing the resources which nature has so lavishly bestowed, we gladly offer to share the fruits which will follow our joint labors.

Our aim is to make the Dominion compact, strong and prosperous. Our design is to have one Canada from the St. Lawrence to the mountains. Under the free institutions which we have inherited from the motherland, with a virile population which has sprung from the foremost European races, united in this favored land by common interests and common sentiments, we look forward to our destiny without fear and with much hope. We desire to make our country a great northern nation, in family affinity with an Empire whose noblest aspiration is peace and good-will to all the nations of the earth.

This is the high ideal we set before us in our strenuous efforts to build up Canada.

(*February 24*)

Hudson Bay the Front Door

By W. F. MACLEAN, M.P.

Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P., expressed his appreciation of the address to which they had just listened, and which had largely covered his own ground. However, he would endeavor to fit into it what he had to say to them. This club was called the Canadian Club, but the place it filled had been anticipated. There had been a Canada First movement before their club was founded, and it was alive to-day. Some of those connected with that movement were now old. One of them some time ago had suggested to him that Hudson Bay should now be called the "Canadian Sea." His friend, who was a lawyer, drafted a bill for him, and he had introduced it in the Dominion House of Commons. It had been greeted with laughter at that time, but he had made up his mind that it will go through. Perhaps its reception was attributed to his having forestalled his friends opposite, but he gave the government credit for the measures they had taken and the expedition which had been despatched to assume jurisdiction over the Hudson Bay territory.

Probably the greatest basin in the world was that of the Mississippi River for the extent and variety of its products—cotton, corn, wheat, animals of all kinds, coal, iron and all other minerals. Then there was the basin of the St. Lawrence, dominated for its greater part at least by Canada. But there was another he believed greater than either of these, Hudson Bay, which drained Ungava, a large part of Ontario and Quebec, Manitoba, the territory of Keewatin, Saskatchewan, Athabasca and Alberta, some of them great wheat fields and all absolutely under Canadian control. There was every reason why they should keep it and keep the entrance to it. Hudson Bay was the front door and the central door of Canada, and they would put a Canadian knocker on it so that those who come would have to wipe their feet on a Canadian door mat if they wanted to receive a warm welcome.

Hudson Bay fisheries were, he had been informed, the richest in the world. The surrounding country was one fitted for adventure and for exploration that would provide enough to occupy Canadians for a hundred years. It was rich in minerals, and was, as he had said, the central gateway to Canada. Not only would it open up the vast districts he had mentioned, but it would, he believed, tap the upper portion of the vast Mississippi basin. The shore of Hudson Bay was only 400 miles from Toronto, and less than 250 miles from some of the stations on the C. P. R.

Perhaps it would not be necessary in the first place to build a railway line the whole way, as the Albany River might be used for a time for transportation

purposes. A short portage would connect the Bay with the basin of the Mackenzie River, and from there to the Peace River. Then, Hudson Bay provided the nearest route to Europe. If Canadians wished to profit by their country, they must open up this waste region—they must be up and doing. The United States had a Monroe doctrine, and here we must have a Canadian Monroe doctrine, and live up to it. Canadians are here to stay, and the map of Canada must strike across the continent. Canadians intended that there should be two free and independent nations on this continent, and that Canada shall be one of them. The United States was progressive, but no statesman of theirs had been magnanimous enough to admit that Canada and Canadians had as much right on this continent as the republic itself had. But Canadians were determined to employ all means in their power to build up and develop their country, and work out their own destiny. We had decided that it was better for the continent to have two nations on it than one huge republic.

Ontario was immediately connected with the development of the Hudson Bay country. All schemes would tend to its growth, but they must be alert. Their friends to the south had become Imperialists—they had branched out into eastern politics, into Canadian politics, and, it might be, into European politics. They were training up eastern officials and a valuable class of public or international lawyers. Canada suffered from the lack of this class, and the universities should encourage the study of international questions. There was not a public man in the United States who admitted that Canadians had a right to an independent national existence, and were here before the United States came into being. Public men and newspapers must be educated to further and support the opening up of the Hudson Bay district, that new doorway to the continent to the north and centre. The bay was navigable six months in the year, and the progress of science might result in the discovery of a method to maintain an open channel in a frozen sea.

A few years ago Alaska had been purchased for \$7,000,000, but it would have been worth \$70,000,000 to us if we had Alaska now, and an approach must now be made to Newfoundland, which was necessary for the completion of the Dominion. Canada has been too often sacrificed for Imperial reasons, and they had failed to let the mother country know their position. The settlement of the Alaska boundary was not satisfactory, and she must give her assistance now in the inclusion of Newfoundland and the Labrador coast in the Dominion. Canadians must try and spread the Canadian Monroe doctrine, and if they stand to it, it will be recognized. As Sir Wilfrid Laurier had said, Canada was the child of the twentieth century. They might have to look in the direction of the West Indies for a means of arrangement. He would not like to see Jamaica severed from the empire, but there were possessions in South America which might be exchanged for parts of Alaska and Maine.

There was room, he believed, for a new party—a national party—a party which should believe in itself and Canada. The solution of the transportation problem, he was convinced, was for the State to own the trunk lines, the telegraph and telephone systems, just as the Imperial authorities should control

the great ocean cables. The Hudson Bay Company, their old friend, still owns that northern country, and were not inclined to see it opened. Their commercial interests might lie in an opposite direction. Canadians should go up and explore. Why should Canadians be stewards of the United States? The Canadians who were filling high positions there should be living in their own country and helping to make it the greatest country on the continent. They must be alert, they must build up their country. Hudson Bay would, he declared, become the finest summer resort in America. Toronto people who now went to the States would have their summer cottages there.

Hudson Bay had been stated to offer the best seal breeding ground in the world, and the Government should take up that question. It offered the shortest route to Europe, and it opened up great possibilities for the eastern trade. Canadians should take an example from the Japanese and what they had done during the last quarter of a century. The time would come when they would have to face this question of Canadian supremacy, for if Uncle Sam once got his foot in he would soon have his whole body. There must be a defensive and commercial union with the motherland, and this did not mean an abandonment of a protectionist policy. It was possible for each part of the empire to develop its own resources and to so connect itself commercially with the Empire as to stand one with the other and build up the whole. The mother country must respect Canada's views and not interfere with her aspirations. Canada must control Hudson Bay absolutely—it was the front and central door, and a Canadian knocker must be put on it. Canada must be made so strong that it will remain a nation while the nations last, and they must all take their share in maintaining the Canadian Monroe doctrine and developing Hudson Bay. His way of putting the Canadian position was this: —

We Canadians are on this continent to stay.

We believe that there is room on the North American continent for at least two free and independent English-speaking nations, and that Canada is, must, and shall be one of these. That it is in the interest of all the continent that there should be two experiments in free government instead of one great cross republic dominating the whole.

That we intend to maintain our national position and the territorial integrity of our country, by the acquiescence of the United States, if they choose to accord it—in spite of them we must.

That the undoubted sovereignty of the Hudson Bay is in Canada and that we look to the mother country if we may, to ourselves if we must, for the upholding of that position.

That Newfoundland and Labrador are desirable factors in the completion of the territorial integrity of Canada on the North American continent, and that early steps should be taken to include them within the Canadian Confederation.

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THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO.

Vol. I.

Part III.

(February 29.)

Some Problems of Municipal Government.

BY ALD. H. B. AMES, MONTREAL.

Ald. Ames at the outset emphasized the importance of correctly understanding the municipal problem, a clear understanding being a necessary preparation to a correct solution. One of the striking phenomena of recent years was the marvellous growth of urban population, due to a variety of causes, and this growth brought with it problems for which there were no precedents. The problems of a large city were not only different in degree from those of a small town, but were different in kind, and the larger the city grew the more complicated became its problems. The contrast between life in country and city was marked. The concentration of large numbers upon limited areas required a curtailment of individual liberty, but at the same time afforded an opportunity for collective action. To exercise a salutary restraint over the individual and to use the power of collective action for the common good were the two main functions of municipal organization. Health, security, comfort, development were the results which were dependent on the right or wrong performance of the duties imposed on the civic government.

Ald. Ames asserted that the failure to obtain the highest results in civic administration could not be justly ascribed to defects in the system of civic government in vogue. There were no short cuts to perfection. There were, of course, always some who were demanding new legislation; but the resources of the present system, in Ald. Ames' opinion, were by no means exhausted. In demonstration of this he said he could go back to first principles even at the risk of setting forth elementary propositions.

As a first definition he said that the citizens of Toronto formed a body politic, a corporation, exercising as a whole powers exceeding the totality of that of all the units. This corporation acted through (a) the city council, (b) the salaried officials, and (c) the mayor. The city council, an elective body, represents in miniature all the citizens. It is their collective head, brain, intelligence and will, and as such, upon it falls the task of developing a policy of deciding *what* shall be done and *how*. It registers the will of the people by passing laws,

voting supplies, according privileges and making contracts. Ald. Ames' conception of the city council was that its duties should be purely legislative. There should be no stooping from that position, which was one that was invested with dignity. The nearer such an ideal was realized, the greater would be the effectiveness and attractiveness of the work. Let Toronto produce the best council she could and there need be no apprehension about entrusting it with extensive powers.

If the council was the head of the civic corporation, the salaried officials were the hands chosen by the council to execute what it planned. The magnitude and intricacy of the duties made large demands, and those chosen for the positions should be men of expert training and high professional skill. The service should be made attractive by high salaries, permanency of position, and a pension system, and colleges and science schools should train men for it, as Westpoint and Annapolis train men for the army and navy. Having secured competent heads, the aldermen should adopt a "hands off" motto. There should be an abolition of the patronage system, and in its place a municipal labor bureau should be established.

But what of the mayor? In this country he held a somewhat anomalous position, corresponding neither to the English ideal, where the mayor was a mere presiding officer, nor to the German ideal, where he was a superintendent of officials. The Canadian ideal of a mayor was neither, yet both of these. The mayor with us might be described as the people's tribune, the popular representative and critic. His position furnished a sort of a short cut to immediate action, and the right man in it could wield a mighty power.

Was this not a well devised system? and why should it fail to obtain the highest results?

After all it was a question of human instruments. The officials were appointed by the council, and the council was chosen by the people. Improve the city councils and the rest would follow, but the question was how to improve the city councils? Perhaps it was unnecessary in Toronto, but in Montreal they had needed and had secured improvement. Perhaps the millenium was not yet at hand there, but it had grown appreciably nearer.

Ald. Ames sketched Montreal's experience in municipal reform, describing the period from 1888 to 1895 as an era of extravagance and corruption. In 1888 there had been a civic debt of \$11,270,000 or \$56.86 per capita, and in 1895 this had increased to \$25,000,000, or \$104.75 per capita. There was a large deficit of a million dollars on the revenue account, and for three years there was an exhausted treasury. There were many protests and sporadic efforts at reform, but all in vain, because the enemy was entrenched behind padded voters' lists and methods of personation and ballot box stuffing. The final and successful battle of reform began at the voters' lists. It was brought about by the "Volunteer Electoral League" and other organizations, who carried the reform to the ballot box and succeeded in 1900 in electing as Chairman of the Finance Committee Mr. Laporte, who has recently been elected as Mayor for the years 1904-5.

The lessons that were to be learned from the struggle in Montreal were three in number:—

1. The heart of the people is right.
2. An altruistic appeal for leaders yet holds.
3. Honest elections are fundamental.

Were these lessons unlearned in Toronto? If they were the Canadian Club could do a great work. It was the birthplace of ideals, and ideals beget impulses, which in turn beget action. The Club, affording as it did a common meeting ground for non-partisan action, where union for reform was possible, had a special advantage for any such work. Located centrally as it was, and considering the growing influence of cities upon the nation, there was no measuring where its influence might spread.

(*March 7.*)

BY REV. CANON CODY AND J. E. ATKINSON.

The discussion on problems in Municipal Reform begun by Ald. Ames was continued at the next meeting by members of the Club. Canon Cody expressed the view that we in this province had gone too far in the way of extending the voting franchise without any property or wage-earning qualification, and he questioned if it would not be better to bring a man's voting strength more into proportion with his interest in the state.

They had, said Canon Cody, a rather rude shock administered to them in Toronto of late. Canadians were in the habit as they looked to the south of thinking that we were better than our neighbors, but corruption had recently been brought home to us in Toronto in no measured degree. It was a crime of the gravest possible description to prevent the people from expressing their real will by ballot, and it should be most severely punished. It would be a calamity if the present investigation was not carried out to the bitter end. He was not quite sure that the first suggestions of corruption did not frequently come from the members of municipal bodies rather than from the private corporation against whom such wide charges were made. Corporations were not desirous of throwing money away if they could obtain what they required in reason without it. Corrupt overtures often came from the man who offered himself for purchase. If the present investigation was carried far enough we would be sure to put our hands on some of the men who were responsible for corruption both in the city and throughout the Province.

An important consideration was to make sure that the right men run for office. The difficulty was that the enemies of good government were always at it, while the friends of good government were apt to be spasmodic in their efforts. If the people had an opportunity of expressing their opinion they would register themselves on the side of what was honest and just. As Lincoln once said:

"You can fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."

It was a question whether here in this country, where people were so busy, it was possible to obtain the best men to run for our municipal offices. Canon Cody believed they should have highly paid specialists, who could give their whole time to and carry on in an efficient way the work of the city. We should have the executive duties fall upon a small, well-paid body of men, while questions of policy could be looked after by a body of aldermen elected by the city at large.

Mr. J. E. Atkinson, who followed, said he supposed the reason that he had been asked to speak on this subject was because he had lived some years in Montreal during the period in which Mr. Ames had been conducting his struggle for better civic government. He sketched briefly some of the outstanding features of that struggle. The situation in Montreal when Mr. Ames began his work was unique. Only 30 per cent. of the population were English, and yet this 30 per cent. paid 60 per cent. of the taxes. The civic government became exceedingly extravagant and corrupt, and the English taxpayer laid all the blame on the French aldermen. The situation was becoming more and more unbearable when, Mr. Ames, young, energetic, and independently wealthy, appeared on the scene. Ald. Ames had told the Club about his organization, but Mr. Atkinson said that he happened to know that Ald. Ames was himself the head and front of the whole organization. He was ably supported with subscriptions from business men who had implicit confidence in him, and who had the example of his own financial contributions. For workers he was able to draw on the organization of the Y.M.C.A., with which he was closely identified. Perhaps the most valuable assistance he received came from Mr. J. S. Brierley, who, with a courage and an independence of political considerations rarely exceeded in Canadian journalism, threw the whole influence of the *Herald* into the fight.

Mr. Ames began his work of renovating the voters' lists and protecting the ballot boxes in the English wards. The contempt in which the typical English resident held the French voters at this time was pronounced, and presented an obstacle to progress, because the French, being predominant in voting strength, it was evident that any reform that did not include them would not be effective. After the work had proceeded for some time, it occurred to the leaders that the French could be appealed to, and that they could be induced to carry into public life the honesty and thrift which characterized their transactions in private life. And the French were appealed to, and with success, and the result was success for the whole movement.

Turning to the situation in Toronto, Mr. Atkinson asked was it not true that many of us in discussing political affairs were apt to assume a slightly pharisaical attitude. We declared that politics were in a deplorable state, and that everywhere there was corruption, and we gave thanks that we were not as the politicians and aldermen. And yet when we meet our public men individually, when we entertained them at this club we did not find them to be either less honest or less public spirited than ourselves. He wondered if we took the best way to improve things when we persistently and for the most part unwarrant-

ably blackened the characters of public men and degraded public offices by general charges and suspicions.

Mr. Atkinson took issue with Canon Cody on the question of restricting the franchise, or in any way making wealth the basis of voting strength. The rich, he said, had no monopoly of honesty. Besides, the wealthy were not, as matters stood, displaying any proof that they should have additional responsibilities in government. Indeed, their indifference to politics was notorious. Not more than 30 per cent. of the wealthier classes exercised their voting privileges, while in the poorer classes the percentage was as high as 80.

Mr. Atkinson did not see anything to be discouraged about in the situation in Toronto. It was not so bad, after all. The most thorough investigation of the whole number of 150 had revealed crookedness in only four polling sub-divisions. It was a hopeful sign that little fault could be found with the voters' lists as they stood now, and that since five years ago 5,000 bogus names had been removed by the proper officials without any civic investigation or outside pressure. If we had had the irregularities in the composition of the voters' lists it must also in fairness be added that our civic officials and machinery had, without the application of any pressure of public opinion, corrected the evils.

(*March 14.*)

Agriculture in Canada.

BY HON. SYDNEY FISHER, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.

Hon. Sydney Fisher, Dominion Minister of Agriculture, and Hon. John Dryden, Ontario Minister of Agriculture, were the guests at the luncheon on March 14, the former delivering an address on the farming industry of Canada. He expressed his pleasure at being afforded the opportunity of speaking to a non-political club on a non-political subject. Although it was a city club, he had no doubt that a great many within the sound of his voice had first seen the light of day on a farm.

His friend, the Ontario Minister of Agriculture, had well epitomized farm life in an address a few weeks before, in which he said the present flourishing condition of agriculture in this country was due to organization, co-operation, and education. The condition of unparalleled prosperity which exists in the agricultural industry was due to the fact that the business was organized, and that the men who were the leaders in it were trained and educated in their calling. The old idea that farming was a hap-hazard, rule of thumb affair, a mere drudgery, had passed away. The successful farmer of to-day was a thoughtful, studious, alert man, who was as businesslike as any other man in the management of his property. This was especially the case among the leading farmers.

In Ontario it was especially easy to locate the agency which had been the greatest factor in bringing about the new condition of the industry. That agency was the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph. His opinion, based on considerable experience, for he had studied similar institutions in Great Britain, Europe, and the United States, was that the College at Guelph was the very best institution of the kind in existence in the world. He was not alone in this opinion. The head of a Welsh agricultural college, one of the experts of the Moseley Commission, who had recently visited Guelph, while speaking at a dinner at McGill University, uttered an entire endorsement of this opinion. He, too, had expressed the firm belief that the College had not a superior anywhere. It was a subject for congratulation that we had such a splendid institution as a basis for our agricultural education. The work that the College was doing was not confined to the people of Ontario, for the people of the other Provinces were reaping the benefits, not only in securing tuition for their own students, but in bringing graduates of this College to superintend their own agricultural Departments. And we in Canada were not alone in deriving this benefit, for the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa were drawing upon Guelph for agricultural experts.

Along with this we had in Ontario the model system of farmers' institutes, which taught in another way. They were schools for grown-up farmers, and were attended by thousands of men actively engaged in agriculture, who by this means were enabled to secure the benefit of each advance in science. This system was being copied by other Provinces from Ontario, and was gradually spreading over the whole country.

Since, then, scientific farming to-day depended on education, co-operation and organization, it provided room and scope for the brightest, the most enterprising and alert of the men of our country. This change would, he hoped, lead to another result of the greatest importance in the social development of our country. In days gone by all the brightest young men and women left the farm. To-day the brightest men and women could be content to remain on the farm, making it their home and their means of livelihood. This could not but redound to the advantage of the industry, because any business which is continually having its brains drawn away from it cannot progress.

Agriculture could be roughly divided into two branches, the one the production from the soil of the crude products, and the other the utilization of these in live stock to produce the highest products of agriculture. The former required less skill, and was comparative drudgery.

Here in Canada the basis of agriculture must be live stock. In this northern part of the temperate zone the climatic conditions produced the highest type of men and women. The northern countries of Europe produced the best and most vigorous nations. And the same was true with regard to animals. Here, too, the soil and other conditions had the qualities that favored the production of the highest types of domestic animals, and that was what was being done. The herds of breeders not only in the United States, but in Mexico, South America, and the West Indies, were being replenished from the stock of this country, whose superior was nowhere to be found. In time other lands would come to

us for high-class stock. Our ancestors in Britain for generations have been producing stock of the best type; yet we are able to take their stock and improve it, and are now sending it abroad.

The foundation of agriculture in all Canada would be live stock. This would be true not only of the older Provinces, but of the Northwest, although it might not be true to-day. To-day wheat and its product, bread, were looked upon as the great products of the west. And Canada would always produce wheat; Ontario was to-day producing some fine wheat. Yet our young people would see the time when the mainstay of the Northwest will be live stock. This might sound like a startling statement, but he would venture to make the prediction. He did not say that the breeding of stock would supplant the growing of wheat, but, on the other hand, when the breeding of stock was taken up, there would be possible a still greater production of wheat.

What are we doing for the organization of the farming industry? A splendid work was being carried on by the Department of Agriculture at Toronto, Ottawa, and the other seats of Government, and a more and more generous expenditure was being made each year. The people were demanding more, and the Ministers were responding with larger grants of money.

With one exception, Canada was the best organized agricultural country in the world. No, the country that was ahead of us was not the United States. It was the little country of Denmark, one of the oldest countries historically that was leading us all and teaching us how to organize. And it was Denmark that is Canada's greatest rival in the markets of Great Britain. As far as the United States were concerned, we could beat them in every line, but it was different with Denmark. He was pleased to say that whatever it might be in other departments, whenever the farmer of Canada entered a race with the farmer of the United States, the latter had to take second place every time. But Denmark beats us in its system of agricultural education and in the quality of its products, especially in bacon and butter. Canada was a good second, however, and the rest of the world was rather nowhere. Denmark was a small country, with a not very large population, but they had co-operation and organization and education, and if we would equal or surpass them we must follow in the same lines of education, organization, and co-operation. We had in Canada the very best material with which to work; a population, bright, alert, and self-confident, and he predicted that even Denmark would have to take second place in no very distant day.

What was being done by the Government for the agriculturists who were in Canada to-day demanding scientific researches for the advancement of their calling? The resolution passed the week previously by the Dominion Live Stock Association showed what a keen interest was being taken in the industry. They had presented the resolutions to him, and he would try to do what was asked of him.

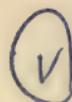
The Government had established experimental farms where experimental agricultural work was carried on, and the results distributed to the farmers of the country. The work at these experimental farms was carried on by trained and educated men.

Then, the Department sought in every way possible to aid the farmers in solving their transportation problems and in opening up new lines of commerce. As an instance of this, he might mention that a few years ago Canada exported no poultry and very few eggs to Britain. An examination had been made into the English methods of fattening poultry, and experiments had been carried on with such success as to bring about in four years an increase in the export poultry trade from \$18,000 to \$300,000. The English were reaping the benefit of our improved methods, although we in Canada could get the high-grade poultry, too, if we paid five cents a pound more for it than we used to. But, then, we were willing and able to pay the extra price nowadays. It was estimated that last year the product of the Canadian farm in eggs and poultry alone was \$12,500,000.

In the veterinary branch, the Department was carrying on a battle with the various live stock diseases which the farmers dreaded, including hog cholera, glanders, and tuberculosis. Experiments in these and in many other branches were being carried on by the Department for the benefit of the people.

Mr. Fisher quoted a few figures to show the importance of the industry. Out of total exports from Canada in 1903 of \$214,000,000, over \$114,000,000 was represented by farm products. In the last census year the farm lands of Canada were valued at \$1,000,000,000, the buildings at \$100,000,000, implements at \$100,000,000 and live stock at \$250,000,000 a total of \$1,450,000,000. There were 471,000 farms, with an average size of 134 acres each, and it was estimated that only 7 per cent. of the arable land was under tillage. In the ten years, between 1891 and 1901, there had been an increase in the grain crop of 20 per cent., or over \$4,000,000 of which \$1,500,000 was in wheat, and \$1,500,000 in oats. The value of all the field products was \$206,000,000, and of the live stock products \$147,000,000.

He recommended city men to pay attention to agriculture, for the commercial success of this country would always be largely dependent upon the prosperity of the farming community.



(March 17.)

Canada.

BY W. WILFRID CAMPBELL.

The following poem was read by William Wilfrid Campbell, of Ottawa, at the Club "At Home," on the evening of March 17, in the Normal School:—

CANADA.

Are there none to speak and save?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 From Western peak to eastern wave?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Art there none to lift and save,
 Must you sink in helot grave,
 Crushed in gyve of thief and knave?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Are there none to wake the dead,
 O, people unto grossness wed?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Must this cursed trade go on,
 Franchise but a bartered pawn,
 Freedom, thought and honor gone?
 Heaven strike or send a holier dawn
 To Canada, my own, my own.
 Must the hideous tale be told?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Men like puppets bought and sold,
 Freeman's rights for place and gold?
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Must this hideous lie go on?
 Are we but degenerate spawn
 Or a greater people gone?
 Canada, my shamed, dishonored own.
 Canada, my own, my own,
 Lie in the dust and make your moan,
 Dishonored by those very ones
 Who should have been your truest sons,
 Like ship on surfs that overwhelm
 By some false captain at the helm,
 Canada, my own, my own.

Creep in the dust and make your moan;
To childish superstitions doomed,

Or in material greed entombed

Your people sleep through sordid years
Of modern doubts and deeds and fears.

Lie in the dust and make your moan,

Poor Canada, my own, my own.

O, wherefore wonder when our life

Is all one shrunken party strife,

When every question of the hour

Betrayed to greed of party power.

When every voice for truth is stilled,

Save that which party spake or willed

With pandering pulpits, venial press,

God send redress, God send redress,

To this poor human wilderness.

A people for high dreamings meant,

But damned by too much government.

O dream in vain your future power,

And build in vain your heart's high tower;

O Canada, my own, my own.

When you have sold the olden truth

That greatness which inspired thy youth,

And bartered for a sordid gleam

The light of all your highest dream,

With all the gross material strife

Of godless money-hungered life,

O Canada, my own, my own.

Your children, they have dragged you down

And trampled all your old renown,

As some base harlot of the town,

O Canada, my own, my own.

O splendid dream of plain and lake,

When will you from this curse awake,

And with new-kindled honor take

Your place with those who guide the helm

Of Britain's mighty peopled realm?

When will you, raised to that regard

Of self, above the market yard

Of life's low levels, hold your share

In Britain's mighty world-wide care?

O Canada, my own, my own.

O wide thy lands and wide thy sky,

Canada, my own, my own.

But wider yet the living lie

That we have lived, my own, my own!

Let us arise from our old graves
 Of self and ill, as o'er the waves
 God's dawn from night, to that which saves,
 Canada, my own, my own.
 Rise and strike the shackles free
 That bind us lip and heart and knee,
 And be what God dreamed we should be,
 Canada, my own, my own,
 Loved Canada, my own.

(*March 21.*)



Ideals.

BY HON. S. H. BLAKE.

In congratulating the Club on its work and standing, Mr. Blake said he would like to see a Universal Canadian Club that would embrace the St. Andrew's, the St. Patrick's, and the St. George's Societies to proclaim to the world that Canada is open to all irrespective of creed and nationality, and to hold out as Canadians the hand of friendship and help to all who come. The Canadian Club he presumed to be a club of progress, else he would not have been asked to speak on the subject of "Ideals."

He thanked God that we are still in the formative stage, and able to get out of the rut when we see something better. The man who did true work was the one who had learned to fear God and to fear nought else. He remembered in reading Carlyle's "French Revolution" a passage which he often recalled, in which Mirabeau exclaimed to his secretary, "Never mention again that block-head of a word impossible." He recalled visiting thirty years ago in London the shop of Sir John Bennett, the great watchmaker, who had related to him how he had been attacked for being unreasonable and unpatriotic because he had opened a branch in Paris in order to avail himself of the superior French workmanship, brought about by the French system of manual training which the English had been so slow to adopt. He instanced this to show that when one enters upon any scheme of improvement or innovation, one must be prepared for obloquy and to be attacked for being unreasonable. What great undertaking, he asked, from the abolition of the slave trade up but had met with the fiercest opposition and talk of destroying all trade, and of robbing the people of their liberty?

He recalled meeting a friend one time at the Exhibition. They were looking over the vegetable exhibit, and when they stood before the pumpkins he noticed that his friend, who was a farmer, was not paying any attention to the magnificent pumpkin that had taken the prize, but was gazing at a much smaller one.

Mr. Blake asked why he singled that one out. "I do not wish to speak it aloud, but that little one is my pumpkin," was the reply. "It got the prize at the township show, and so I brought it down here." That man said Mr. Blake had had no bigger ideal than his own little pumpkin until he got to the Provincial show.

It was well to have ideals, but it was also a great thing to live up to them. The week before last a number of well-known citizens were in his office in connection with a big transaction. One of them, referring to a question of payment, said:—"Oh, his word is good for anything." The second gentleman said he would sooner have that said of him than to be able to sign a check for a million dollars. The third, thinking for a moment, said, with a twinkle in his eye: "Well, that is fine, but I would not like to lose the million."

It was necessary not only to have high ideals but to have people live up to them. Enough had transpired of late in this country to show the absolute necessity of having higher and better ideals. If what was going on represented the ideals of the people of this province he would not be speaking on such a subject. It was because he was satisfied that it did not that he appeared before them. He would like to see the public conscience so aroused that there would be a revolt against such practices, and it should be the duty of the Canadian Club to insist that people in positions of trust should not have lower ideals than the people they represent.

Why was it that every person before entering politics—he understood there was nothing political in the Canadian Club—was obliged to consider the question of what standard of morality he was to set for himself? How is it that so many things are done in politics, and the excuse is that though the men are honest, politics require them to do so and so? And these same men outside politics would never do anything that could be questioned. In entering politics, was a man to begin by degrading himself to a lower standard of morality than obtained outside? Was that the opinion of the Canadian Club? He thought not. Was it felt that old motto, "All is fair in love and war," applied in politics? That it was good policy to get a catch verdict when your friends were out at lunch? If such a thing had been done forty years ago, the one would not dare to look at the other in the face. He believed in no such standard. A man in politics was not asked to degrade himself. The nicest sense of honesty and integrity and truth and uprightness should be demanded of the men whom the people entrusted to administer their affairs. And yet nowadays there were lessons that our public men could learn with advantage from our criminal law. Is this to be our ideal, he asked?

There was such a thing as being an accessory after the fact. He had in mind a case with which he had to do in which it was demonstrated that the manner in which the property had been obtained was not altogether equitable. When the matter came to the attention of the gentleman who was to benefit by it he declared that he would not hold property gained on such terms, and that he had no idea his agents had acted in such a manner. As soon as the gentleman became aware of the matter he would have become a party to the crime

had he not renounced it. "But am I justified," said Mr. Blake, "in sitting in an armchair and accepting and receiving telegrams which inform me that those sent here to sustain me obtained their positions by the most nefarious practices? Am I justified in knowing that by perjury, bribery and debauchery this constituency was won and that one held? The moment that information is brought home, and I accept the result, I am as dishonest as the lowest member of the machine. Should I not say I resign? What is bought at the price of honor is bought at too great a price for honest men!"

Fancy the reception a leader who would take such a course would receive. Nobility would be written upon him, and all would rejoice to recognize such an honest man. Might he stand long to protect the rights of the people. Under such auspices the power of the machine would be broken and honest men returned. Who would not vote for a man who would make such a pronunciamento? He would stand out as an example to the youth and to the country generally.

A man need not degrade himself by becoming a Member and then accept the double degradation by becoming a Minister. A Minister whose hand did not touch money which was used as a bribe was just as guilty as the actual briber if he knowingly accepted the fruits of the work. In illustration of this he quoted the story of Ahab, the Hebrew king, and the piercing question that God had put to him was, "Hast *thou* killed and taken possession?"

And again, when a Minister or Premier accepted office he was bound to carry out the measures he proposed, and failing to do that he was bound, as an honest man, to resign. He was not bound to pose or play weather-cock to every little bit of wind. He was not bound to do anything at the price of honor. He was not entitled to play the human eel and wriggle here and there and whip his followers into line. Follow the practice which obtained in England —submit the measure, and if it cannot be carried resign.

Legislators were the trustees of the property of the people—it was not theirs. They were bound to administer it as trustees, and when their period of office had expired hand it back with its value appreciated. They were not entitled to give property away in lands, minerals, money, and pulp concessions until an adventurer was able to stock a concern at \$117,000,000 and bring ruin and discredit on the land. The legislature, by this course, made itself a partner in the transaction, and the creditors looked to it for a few more millions. Nothing but ruin and disgrace could follow such a policy. Such things could not be tolerated. We must have men as legislators with capacity and knowledge of business so that the property of the people would be safeguarded.

This, said Mr. Blake, is a fitting opportunity to write a fresh page in the history of this people. Let it be the supreme effort of this Club to make the present a marked epoch—to formulate true ideals worthy of our land—to spread them abroad and unroll them as our banner—to live them to the best of our ability at all times and under all circumstances—may those who come after us have from your work cause heartily and truly to bless God that The Canadian Club was brought into existence.

(*March 28.*)

Newfoundland, Labrador and Confederation with Canada.

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. N. PONTON.

Lieut.-Col. Ponton referred to the fact that he and Hon. Wm. Ross of Halifax had apparently struck "a live wire" of current interest in moving a resolution at the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, held in Montreal in August last, advocating from an Imperial point of view, as well as in the interests of Canada and Newfoundland, the rounding out of Confederation, the settling for all time of the French shore problem, and the securing of one intact Atlantic seaboard. This resolution had been unanimously carried not as a matter of form, but with the approval of the representatives of all parts of the British Empire. A campaign of education in Newfoundland would be needed, he said, first, to overcome the ignorance of Canadian affairs among a portion of the inhabitants who are not accustomed to think on public questions; secondly, to compete with the monopolies and subsidies; and thirdly, to reconcile a certain amount of antagonism which is felt by a few in consequence of the refusal of Canada to support the Bait Act, her interference with the Bond-Blaine Treaty, and the declining of Newfoundland's proposal in 1895 when this oldest colony of Britain was suffering from financial depression. Newfoundland, however, is loyal and Imperialistic, and many there recognize the advantages of Federation with the Dominion from the points of view of Empire Building, strategy and kinship. The boundaries of the United States are by the jingoists said to be unlimited, but the western and eastern boundaries of Canada are limited so far as the ocean is concerned. One-half of the Pacific coast is cut off by the United States territory, terminating in the two little islands of Alaska boundary fame, corresponding to the two little Gulf Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon whose importance as a possible United States purchase from France is now developing, owing to the recent remarks of Senator Lodge, and the writings of a portion of the press which does not, however, altogether represent the best American sentiment. The only Atlantic sea coast that Canada has is Nova Scotia, all north of the Straits of Belle Isle clear to Hudson Strait (and, therefore, important to the Canadian closed sea), with all the minerals, harbors and fishing rights being under the exclusive jurisdiction of Newfoundland. The area of Newfoundland is 42,200 square miles, that of St. Pierre and Miquelon 95 square miles. Newfoundland's population is about 225,000; that of St. John's, the capital, about 31,000. About 55,000 are engaged in fisheries. The Island Railway is complete to the extent of 633 miles, and has been leased for 50 years to the Reid syndicate, after which it is to revert entirely to the colony as owners. The value of the fisheries is \$7,000,000

annually. The public debt is \$17,723,000. Canada exports to Newfoundland about \$2,400,000.

John Cabot, and his crew of eighteen Gloucester and Devon sailors were the first to land on the continent of America, when they planted St. George's Cross on Cape Breton and Newfoundland in 1497. He was seeking for a direct route to Cathay, and Cipango (as China and Japan were then known), but it was nearly 400 years afterwards that this direct route was given, not by British boats alone, but by the bonds of steel and the electric wires with which the Canadian Pacific Railway crossed the continent and formed a link of Empire. The only public entry chronicling Cabot's achievement is the following from the archives of Henry VII.: "To Hym who found the New Isle, £10." England is dumb, as Carlyle said, and writes simply on the records of the world's service—England—her mark. Sir Humphrey Gilbert formally established a settled colony in 1583. The passion for colonizing spread. Wars between France and England were common. In 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht the island was recognized as wholly belonging to Britain, but the subjects of France were allowed to catch fish and cure them on the western, northern and eastern coasts, but without power to fortify or erect substantial buildings thereon. In 1762 the French surprised and took St. John's, but it was immediately retaken by an expedition from Halifax. Nevertheless, in 1763 the Treaty of Paris recognized the former rights, and ceded the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to serve as a shelter to French fishermen, and it was stipulated that these islands should not be fortified so as to be an "object of jealousy" between the two nations. British rights have been disregarded on the French shore, and exclusive rights have been claimed by France to such an extent and with such persistence under the protection and enforcement of the British Navy, that they have "got on the nerves" of the Newfoundland people. The Bait Act forbids Newfoundlanders, under heavy penalties to sell bait to French fishermen, and this is now so vigorously enforced as to detract greatly from the value of their fisheries. Newfoundland is now prosperous, and has this month taken off \$180,000 from the duties formerly charged on flour, molasses and coal oil. There are no municipal taxes except in St. John's, the Government being paternal. The occupations formerly confined to the fisheries, are now extended to the mines, railways, timber limits, and pulpwood manufacturer.

Confederation was contemplated by the British North America Act, and was not merely a dream of Sir John A. Macdonald and the other founders of the Dominion. The machinery is all provided, and no Imperial statute is necessary. The advantages to Canada will be her territorial integrity, a free market for her wheat, apples and other agricultural productions, an increased home market for her manufacturers, greater influence in Imperial Councils, the addition of a quarter of a million of hardy spirited Islanders to her population, the right to be consulted with regard to fishery and other treaties of reciprocity or otherwise, and the controlling of the shores of that route by which the food supply of the Empire in the future will pass from its granary. The advantages of the Empire will be the extension of the preferential tariff to Newfoundland, the consolidation of the strength of this "Nation within a Nation," the sharing of Canada in the responsibility of the defence of

Newfoundland—the “Sentinel of the St. Lawrence,” and the release of the Navy from the odious task of protecting foreign people against her own citizens. Every benefit to one member aids all. The advantages to Newfoundland will be that she will come into the open, drop her colonial status, in which though loyal, she is somewhat isolated; will secure capital to develop her vast resources, will be enabled more effectually to check smuggling and piracy on her fisheries, and on the same principle that two horses properly harnessed in a team will do more effective work together than when separate, so Canada and Newfoundland will hand in hand extend their trade and consolidate their strength. The West Indies should also form part of Canada; they are one of Newfoundland’s best customers. St. Lucia has magnificent fortifications, and if Greenland also were painted red upon the map there would be “Dominion over palm and pine.” The food supply of the Empire is an important consideration. The personnel of the Navy, which is the bond of union, the source of strength and the breath of life of the Empire should be representative of the colonies as well as of the old land. “*Britannia needs no bulwark, her home is on the deep.*” St. John’s harbor will hold a fleet; Newfoundland furnishes a naval reserve and supports a training ship. Canada should do this also, and should contribute to Imperial burdens while she claims Imperial honors. Newfoundland is one of the family jewels; she is a rich dowry, and is being wooed by suitors from afar. If the heart go with the treasure, and Canada and the Island determine on union, who shall forbid the banns? No Monroe doctrine can interfere if Britain re-acquires St. Pierre and Miquelon. We also are a great American power, a world power. We can meet a doctrine by a creed. “We will pay nothing for wearing our own noses.” We will neither cringe as cravens or chide as churls. There is plenty of room for two sovereign powers on this continent, and the best feeling of the United States is most friendly. That nation has treated Cuba fairly; she respects those that respect themselves. Nevertheless, if the Bond-Hay Treaty of reciprocity passes, Newfoundland will hold aloof from Canada, and the opportunity will be gone, and already American capital has secured and is developing most of Newfoundland’s industries; the assimilation is from within. There was a tide in these affairs which, perhaps, should have been taken at the flood in 1895, but then the French shore question, now about to be settled, loomed up large, and there are now broader issues, and the cementing of the Empire, following Australia and South Africa, is in full swing. Lt.-Col. Ponton urged the necessity of personal visits by ambassadors of trade to get in touch with our kinsmen, begged his hearers not to allow the question to be treated as a political football, and pointed out that Canada must be vigilant even with regard to the administration of her own affairs. *Pax Britannica* will always be secured while we feel inwards but look outwards, while we are expansive, but also at the same time assimilative and cohesive. The Navy of Britain is our insurance policy and our security for peace. Our motto should be “all for each and each for all.” He closed by an extract from a speech by Mr. Chamberlain, who appealed to men in a world of men, and trusted that Britain would always be able to answer the taunts of her enemies with the cheers of her children. As atoms the Empire is weak, but welded together it is a power

both good and great. Our Canadian poet, Campbell, voices Imperial sentiments in these words:

"And if ever the smoke of an alien gun
Should threaten her iron repose,
Shoulder to shoulder against the world,
Face to face with her foes,
Scot and Celt and Saxon are one
Where the glory of Britain goes.
And we in this newer and vaster West,
Where the great war banners are furled,
And commerce hurries her teeming hosts,
And the cannon are silent along our coasts,
Saxon and Gaul—Canadians claim
A part in the glory and pride and aim
Of the Empire that girdles the world."

(March 31.)

The Fast Atlantic Service.

BY ROBERT REFORD.

On the evening of March 31, the club had as guests two of the members of the Transportation Commission in the persons of Mr. Robert Reford, of Montreal, and Mr. John Bertram, of Toronto, who spoke upon some phases of Canada's transportation problem, Mr. Reford dealing especially with the necessity for a fast Atlantic service. Another guest on the same occasion was Mr. John S. Ewart, K.C., of Winnipeg, who took as his subject "The Kingdom of Canada."

Mr. Reford said: I have to thank you for giving me an invitation to address you on a subject which I consider to be of much importance to Canada, and, indeed, the Empire, viz., Canada's ocean mail and passenger service, its work and objects, which I think has been neglected by both the Governments and the people of Canada in the past, greatly to Canada's disadvantage and loss in ways which I will endeavor to point out as briefly and clearly as possible.

Impressed with its importance, I have written several letters to members of the present Canadian Government, to the Canadian papers, and also to the English papers, a copy of one of which published by the London "Times," dated 21st August, 1902, I have pleasure in leaving with you, as it gives statements, financial and otherwise, regarding the inauguration of a line of mail and passenger steamers between Great Britain and Canada, too long, I think, to embody in this address, but the study of which would, I think prove interesting

to any of your members whom I may succeed in interesting by what I may have to say on the subject.

It has been acknowledged in the Canadian Parliament by two members of the Cabinet, that although the Canadian Government have for many years subsidized a Canadian mail and passenger service between Canada and England, eighty per cent. of Canada's mails and passengers go and come via the United States, largely New York, in preference to the Canadian route, the effect of which has been terribly disastrous to Canada, by giving the world, the people of Great Britain included, the idea that Canada cannot give a mail and passenger service equal to that obtainable via the United States, thereby emphasizing the feeling which has been so injurious to Canada, that the United States possesses on the Continent of North America all that is worth having, and that Canada is a place greatly inferior as regards settlement or investment of capital, and as a result, as I think you all know, the United States in the past 25 years has advanced by leaps and bounds in population, capital, and importance as a nation, far in excess of Canada, which until lately had been almost at a standstill, the census showing during the last ten years only about some half million increase in the population, or much less than by some of the single States to the south of us. In proof of the ignorance of even educated Englishmen regarding Canada, I call your attention to the fact unearthed by Lord Strathcona as lately published in the English newspapers, that the text books used in some of the English Universities describe Canada as a country largely composed of frozen morasses, and altogether inferior to the United States, and it is this terrible condition of things and its connections with the mail and passenger service and its remedy that I wish to bring before you this evening.

The subsidized Canadian mail and passenger service has been and is a weekly one between Liverpool, Quebec, and Montreal in summer via the St. Lawrence, and Liverpool and Halifax in winter, whilst the American service is now almost a daily one via Liverpool, Queenstown, Southampton and New York by much faster steamers than it is possible to run safely via the St. Lawrence, which route, as you all know, is open for only six or seven months in the year, and unfit for the fast service Canada requires, the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the river being impeded by ice and fogs in spring, and snowstorms in the fall, which, with narrow and dangerous portions of the river, make high speed neither safe nor desirable. Notwithstanding this, it is absolutely necessary for Canada, if she wishes to free herself from the incubus and overshadowing of the United States, and grow as a nation, to have a fast mail and passenger service between Canadian ports and Great Britain, and it may be the continent of Europe, as good as can be obtained via New York or any other United States ports, because the merchants, manufacturers and people of Canada absolutely require such a service. The imports and exports of Canada and the United States are very similar; we buy and sell in the same markets, and this being so, it must be obvious that Canada requires equal, and, if possible, better facilities than the United States to enable her to do business on equal terms. She has not had this in the past, and the consequence has been, that English and European capital which should have flowed into Canada has been

and is being diverted to the United States, and will continue to be so long as Canada lies under the shadow of the United States by the great bulk of her mails and passengers using that route, and thereby admitting the superiority of United States ports and route.

Now, you will ask what is the remedy which I propose, and you will see by the letter which I wrote the London Times that I think Canada can, not only give a service equally as fast and safe as that given via New York, but greatly better from a Canadian port. The route which I have advocated in my letter to the London Times is between the City of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and the City of Galway, on the West coast of Ireland, my reasons for advocating this route being as follows:

Halifax, in Nova Scotia, has a magnificent harbor, always free of ice, and easily approachable from the ocean. Galway, on the west coast of Ireland, can easily be made a magnificent port and is also directly upon the ocean. The distance between the two ports is some 2,150 miles. It is almost the narrowest portion of the Atlantic between Europe and America, so making this route seem to be the natural route for the transmission of mails and passengers not only between Great Britain and Canada, but also between Europe, Canada and the Western States. The distance between New York and Liverpool is 3,150 miles, or almost 50 per cent. more.

The average time at present occupied in the transmission of mails by the Canadian route between London and Montreal is ten to eleven days in summer, and twelve to fourteen days in winter, and via New York, one to two days less. Via Halifax and Galway, I feel certain that this time of transit can be cut down one-half.

Starting from Montreal, the present Intercolonial time between Montreal and Halifax is about 26 hours, but, as you know the I.C.R. was not built as a fast line of travel, but as a military road, and follows the Canadian coast line almost the entire distance to Halifax. The Grand Trunk route is, I believe, to be a much shorter one, and with a better roadbed and easier grades I think it is possible to reduce the distance 120 to 150 miles, and cut down the time between Montreal and Halifax to 15 or 16 hours, which would bring Halifax almost as near to Montreal as regards time as New York. In other words, passengers leaving Montreal at 6 or 7 in the evening could easily be placed alongside the steamer in Halifax by noon of the next day, with a great saving in expense and addition to comfort, as compared with what is possible via New York. With steamers of 25-knot speed, which speed I feel sure will soon be obtainable by the new turbine system, the passage between Halifax and Galway can be made in a little over three days, but even making it four days, to allow for contingencies, that would make the time between Montreal and Galway about 4½ days. Galway is only 120 miles distant from Dublin or, say, three hours' travel by rail; Dublin, or its port, Kingstown, is 62 miles distant, from Holyhead, other three hours by ferry boat, and Holyhead is within six hours by rail of London, and most other cities of importance in England, so making the entire time of transit between Montreal and London at the most five days, a time which, I think, can be and will be cut down to four days.

My letter to the "Times" was criticized by the Liverpool papers, the Milford Haven papers, the Southampton papers and others interested in the various steamship lines now running between England and New York, but none of them contradicted the main facts of what I have stated, the principal objection to the scheme being that passengers would not favor the route owing to the changes between Galway and London and other principal English cities that might be their destination. These difficulties are, however, in my opinion, entirely imaginary. There would really be less change and less discomfort in this route of travel than what is incurred via New York to-day, viz., a passenger leaving Toronto or Montreal for England via New York has to bear the expenses of heavy hotel bills, and other expenses in New York, custom house worry included, and on arrival at Liverpool has often very considerable detention there waiting tide for the docking of the steamer and transfer to trains. Via Halifax and Galway there would be no custom house worry, no hotel bills, as the cars would go straight alongside the steamer, and the passenger would step from his car on board without delay and without expense. At Galway the same thing could be arranged, the passenger would step from the steamer into the car awaiting the steamer, the train would run to Kingston, would be transferred to a ferry boat, and on arrival at Holyhead be re-transferred to the railway, so causing the passenger no change between Galway and London, or any other important English city, every one of which is within twelve hours of Galway. The Scotch cities could be reached similarly, in the same time via Larne and Stranraer.

Objection has been made that the ferry system could not be operated between Kingston and Holyhead owing to rough sea, to which I reply that longer distances and across rougher water are to-day bridged by ferry systems. In Siberia, Lake Baikal is crossed by a ferry; another crosses the sea between Stockholm and Copenhagen, and trains are carried by ferry a distance of some 80 miles over Lake Michigan. The distance between Kingston and Holyhead is only 62 miles.

I bring Galway prominently before you because I have based my calculations of costs of service and time of transit in my letter to the London Times on Galway as the terminus, and I will now endeavor to tell you why. It is the most westerly port in Great Britain, and in Europe; it lies, as does Halifax, midway between the great traffic route between New York and Great Britain, which goes round the south of Ireland, and the other great traffic route from the St. Lawrence, which goes round the north of Ireland, consequently vessels sailing between Halifax and Galway would have nearly a clear course to themselves, so greatly adding to the safety of the route, and permitting of higher speed than is possible with safety over the congested waters that lie between New York and Liverpool.

The shortness of the sea passage would permit of the same number of steamers that now give a weekly service to New York or the St. Lawrence, giving a bi-weekly service between Halifax and Galway. In other words, four steamers are now required to give a weekly service between Liverpool and New York, or Liverpool and Montreal, and these four steamers could give a bi-weekly

service between Halifax and Galway the effect of which would be a cutting down the expenses of the Galway-Halifax route one-half, and if Galway and Halifax were made—as they should be to foster this service—free ports, saving the immense expenses paid by the lines running to New York and Liverpool, the Halifax-Galway service could be run at, I think, one-third of the cost of competing lines between New York and Liverpool, so ensuring, with enormous saving in time, the financial success of the undertaking.

I addressed the Fifth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce from Great Britain on this subject when in Montreal last year, and one of the British delegates asked the very pertinent question as to how the boats were going to obtain cargo; in reply to which enquiry I stated, I feel sure, correctly, that this line would do a great deal better as regards cargo than is possible by competing lines from any United States port. The cargo that now goes by mail line steamers is all of a high class, consisting of perishable goods, such as butter, cheese, apples, light-cured meats, and high-priced manufactured goods in cases, paying, and able to pay, a much higher rate of freight than is procurable on the general shipments, such as grain, lumber, cotton and such cargo. For this high-class cargo the fastest line invariably gets the preference, speed and careful handling being the main factors with shippers, even overcoming higher rates of freight. Speed, regularity, careful handling, and prompt delivery, possible by such a route and line would, I feel sure, give it abundance of freight at almost its own terms.

I do not think that it is commonly understood how business can be developed by good facilities given to do it, and I will mention the Canadian dairying industry as an example. Prof. Robertson, of the Dominion Department of Agriculture, having enlightened views of what Canada could do as a dairying country, came to Montreal and interested the steamship men in cold storage, careful handling and better facilities for the proper shipment of cheese, butter, apples and mild cured meats, with the result that Canadian shipments of these products have increased immensely, and taken first place in the British markets. We have been able in a few years to practically drive our United States competitors out. I remember some fifteen years ago I was in a district back of Montreal from which I was told all the settlers had moved away, the land being cropped out. I was in the same district last year, and found the land covered with herds of cattle, the houses rebuilt and occupied, and evidence of prosperity on every side. What accomplished this wonderful change? I answer, largely the growth of the dairying industry. The same thing has happened in many parts of the country. Hundreds of miles below Quebec where a few years ago not a cheese was made, thousands are now bringing wealth to the people and greatly improving the country by the cattle raised on it. A bi-weekly fast line from Halifax would immensely stimulate this trade, and increase the value of every acre of land between Quebec and Halifax, a region as large as Great Britain, and able, I believe, in a few years to alone load a bi-weekly line of steamers, having magnificent agricultural lands and immense natural riches almost undeveloped.

Next, owing to the long ocean passage between New York and Liverpool, and the immense supply of bunker coal which the steamers on that route are

obliged to carry, they have very little accommodation for cargo, but between Halifax and Galway, on a route occupying less than half the time of that between New York and Liverpool, there would be an enormous saving in the fuel bill, and an enormous saving in the space occupied by the fuel, amounting probably to between 3,000 and 4,000 tons each way, but putting it at even 3,000 tons each way, it would represent a cargo space on the round trip for 6,000 tons, or an earning capacity per round trip on high-class freight of £8,000 to £10,000, which would be actually made money.

I will not, however, further dwell upon the economical and financial aspect of this question, which is fully set forth in my letter to the London Times, but will now discuss it on what is perhaps of even greater importance, the national point of view.

Canada, as I think you all know, is a country with an area as great as the United States, and, as is every day being more clearly proven, a country the peer of the United States in everything that makes a country great, prosperous and powerful. Our agricultural lands are, it is now acknowledged, far greater and far richer than those of the United States; our mineral wealth, largely undeveloped, promises to be as great; our forest wealth is immensely greater, and the Canadian waterways and water powers, the former running almost to the centre of the continent at Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, give a means of intercourse with the interior of Canada exceeding that of any nation in the world, the United States included.

I have been appointed by the Canadian Government as a member of the Transportation Commission now enquiring into the transportation question by water and otherwise, and I can assure you that what the members of the Commission have already seen and heard has greatly impressed them with the possibility of Canada being made in the near future the great freight route of transportation, not only for Canada and the Canadian Northwest, but the route which the bulk of the produce of the Western States will have to take to find its market in Europe, because via Canada is the vastly cheaper and shorter route, with many other points in its favor; and that the people of the United States see and understand this is, I think, evidenced by the State of New York having lately voted the enormous sum of \$101,000,000 for the enlargement of the Erie Canal. Well, gentlemen, in my opinion they can spend \$500,000,000 in the enlargement of their canals, and still the Canadian route, through its natural advantages, will take the business.

I would now direct your attention to the geographical point of view. The great probable prize of the world that is coming, as I see it, is the trade between the workshops of Europe and the great opening markets of the Orient, viz., Asiatic Russia, China, Japan, Australia, etc.. Through Canada is the shortest route to these markets for freight and passengers, not only for Great Britain, but for Europe, and it will be Canadians' own fault if Canada does not become the highway. She can do it by promoting this Halifax-Galway route, or any other route equally short and equally good. All I want to emphasize on that point is that Canada must give a route as quick, as safe, as convenient, and, if possible, every way better and quicker than the United States, to get and keep the

enormous business which is sure to flow between Europe and Asia. You can all see that the realization of this idea of making the travel of the world flow through Canada from the City of Halifax, on the Atlantic, its most eastern point, to the Cities of Vancouver and Fort Simpson, on the Pacific, its most western points, must be to advertise Canada in a way that nothing else can do, and make the world understand the greatness and the richness of Canada in a way nothing else will, thereby bringing to Canada emigration and capital, which is what Canada wants to make her a great nation—a Greater Britain, as I would say.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words as to the Empire aspect of this same question. The great Empire we belong to has long stood, and I hope will ever stand, as the head of the great Anglo-Saxon race of the world, but to me there seems a greater danger of her not being able to sustain this place unless she realizes the fact that she requires to raise up in Canada a British portion of the Empire which will act as a counterweight against the enormous power of the United States. Understand me here to say I do not wish the power of the United States to be diminished, but I do wish the power of Great Britain on this continent to be increased, because I think that only by such increase can Great Britain hold her place as the greatest nation in the world. The United States are now a nation of nearly 80,000,000. Fifty or sixty years hence it is likely they will be a nation of 140,000,000 or 150,000,000, and when that day comes, unless Canada has grown proportionately, and I hope more than proportionately, the United States will be the greatest English-speaking people of the world, and it is difficult to forecast what the ambition of a nation of such magnitude may lead them to do.

We all know how desirous our friends to the South have been, and are, of making Canada a part of the Union. I hope that day will never come, but the possibility of its coming should, I think, be carefully considered and guarded against by Great Britain, as the loss of Canada would, I fear, be irreparable, and the beginning of the end of the Empire whose boast it is that the sun never sets upon it. With the loss of Canada Great Britain would lose supremacy on the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, and the shortest and best highway for travel and commerce between Great Britain and the east, a loss which nothing could compensate for. The reason I especially bring forward this point is that I think if this whole question was properly brought before, and properly understood by the British people and the British Government, they would awake to the wisdom and necessity for a British-Canadian fast mail and passenger service excelling anything in the world, and be willing to help the inauguration of it and a similar service between Canada and Asia on the Pacific, so making the mail and passenger service between Great Britain and Canada, and between Canada and the Orient, a great national one, available for commerce in times of peace, and in time of war enabling Great Britain to land troops or sailors anywhere in the East, in Japan, China or Asiatic Russia or elsewhere in three weeks from England, which she can do by no other route. This is what Canada wants, and this is what Great Britain, I think, should want, and I hope will help Canada and the Empire to establish. It would make Canada grow into a Greater Britain: it would guarantee the prestige and the power of the British

Empire, be of incalculable benefit, in my opinion, to every part of it. Try to realize what benefit Canada and Ireland would get by the travel of the world passing through them. Canada would grow as no other country ever did, which is what every Canadian should fight for. Ireland would become the most prosperous and loyal part of the British Dominions, and Canada's contribution to the cost with the benefit it would bring the Empire would be the best and wisest way of contributing to the Empire's growth and welfare.

The regaining of our 80 per cent. of lost passengers and mails with an equal increase from Western States and the Orient would bring immense prosperity to every city and town in Canada, and every railway traversing the country. The business should grow into a daily ocean line, so requiring double track railways between the Atlantic and Pacific and more of them, all of which I hope will one day not very far in the future become a fact.

The appended memorandum of probable comparative outlay for steamers and principal running expenses is taken from Mr. Reford's letter to the London Times (England) of 21 August, 1902, and shows how much more cheaply a Galway-Halifax steamship service could be operated than a similar service between Liverpool and New York.

Things have changed a good deal since even 1902. More costly, larger and differently engined steamers are now being built, but Mr. Reford does not think this would greatly, if at all, alter the comparative result shown in his calculations. Mr. Reford could call attention to the fact that he has deducted from running expenses of Galway-Halifax Line £520,000 a year for subsidies expected from Canadian and British Governments, against nothing deducted from running expenses of Liverpool to New York Line, which can have no claim for a subsidy on national or patriotic grounds. The Halifax-Galway Line is also credited with a very considerable saving in port charges by Galway and Halifax being made free ports, also for national reasons.

ESTIMATE OF POSSIBLE COST AND SOME PRINCIPAL EXPENSES
OF A BI-WEEKLY LINE OF STEAMSHIPS BETWEEN NEW YORK AND
LIVERPOOL (which would require nine steamers) :

Initial cost of nine large steamers of 25 knots to form a bi-weekly line, eight steamers running and one in reserve, £500,000 each.	£4,500,000
Annual interest on initial outlay of £4,500,000, at 5 per cent.....	£225,000
Annual depreciation, outlay of £4,500,000, at 5 per cent.....	225,000
Annual marine insurance on eight running steamers, value £4,000,000.....	160,000
Annual coal account for eight working steamers burning 500 tons per day, 7,000 tons on each round voyage of 14 days, for 104 round voyages, 728,000 tons, at 15s. per ton.....	548,000
Annual food account for passengers, estimating number each voyage at 500 in cabin, second cabin and steerage, at 2s. per day, £50; £700 for round voyage of 14 days, and for 104 round voyages per year.....	72,800
Annual food account for 500 men, composing crew, on same basis, but at 1s. per day.....	36,400
Annual wage account for 500 men composing crew, at £4 per month, for nine months each year, bulk of crew being discharged in Great Britain end of each round voyage, £2,000 per month per steamer, or £18,000 per annum each steamer, on eight steamers.	144,000
Annual terminal charges, made up on supposition that New York and Liverpool will not be free, but about four times those of Halifax and Galway, or £800 for 104 round voyages.....	83,200
Plus cargo value of space occupied by 4,000 tons coal carried each round voyage more than would be carried between Halifax and Galway, on 104 voyages, 416,000 tons, at 15s. per ton.....	312,000
	£1,804,400

ESTIMATE OF POSSIBLE COST AND SOME PRINCIPAL EXPENSES OF
A BI-WEEKLY LINE OF STEAMERS BETWEEN HALIFAX AND
GALWAY:

Initial cost of five large steamers of 25 knots to form a bi-weekly line, four steamers running and one in reserve, at say £500,000 each.	£2,500,000
Annual interest on initial outlay of £2,500,000, at 5 per cent.....	£ 125,000
Annual depreciation on initial outlay of £2,500,000, at 5 per cent...	125,000
Annual marine insurance on four running steamers, value £2,000,000, at 4 per cent.....	80,000
Annual coal account for four working steamers, burning 500 tons per day, 3,000 tons on each round voyage of six days, for 104 round voyages, 312,000 tons, at 12s. 6d. per ton.....	195,000
Annual food account for passengers estimating number each way of 500 in cabin, second cabin and steerage, at 2s. per day, £50; £300 for round voyage of six days, and for 104 round voyages per year.	31,200
Annual food account for 500 men composing crew, on same basis, but at 1s. per day.....	15,600
Annual wage account for 500 men of crew, at £4 per month for nine months each year, bulk of crew being discharged in Great Britain end of each round voyage, £2,000 per month per steamer, or £18,000 per annum each steamer on four steamers.....	72,000
Annual terminal charges at ports of loading and discharge, on basis that Halifax and Galway would be made free ports, as they should be to encourage this new trade, £200 per round voyage, for 104 round voyages.....	20,800
	£ 664,600
Substitutes that should be provided by Canadian and British Govern- ments for weekly line, £260,000.....	260,000
	£ 404,600
Net expenditure for above items.....	£ 404,600
Additional sum that should be paid for a bi-weekly service, as is reasonable.	260,000
	£ 144,600
As against outlay for similar service between New York and Liver- pool, on same basis and items of expense.....	£1,804,400
	£1,659,800

① The Kingdom of Canada.

BY JOHN S. EWART, K.C.

I am very glad to have an opportunity of addressing the Canadian Club, but I find much greater gratification in the fact that there is a Canadian Club to address, said Mr. Ewart in opening. Effects do not occur without causes, and it is interesting to enquire into the meaning of the somewhat sudden rise of these clubs, of this phenomenal desire for the study of our political situation, of this simultaneous eagerness for enlightenment with reference to the problems that confront us.

To my mind the explanation is very simple. Canada has commenced to realize herself, to believe in herself, and to recognize that for her, too, there is a principal part to play upon the stage of the world. Canada has become conscious of the feelings and aspirations and the strong strivings of strenuous manhood, and, on the other hand, of the utter impossibility of full expression and assertion in mere colonial status. Divine discontent (the necessary pre-condition of all improvement), in regard to her political semi-servitude, has taken strong hold upon Canada, and she is taking stock, and extending the figures, and considering where she now is, and what her future is to be.

In my opinion that is the meaning of these clubs; not social clubs are they nor political, but student clubs; meetings, at short intervals, of serious men for the purpose of helping one another to resolve those problems of national life which are now pressing themselves upon us. Every true Canadian has recently found himself engaged in meditation upon such questions, and I am to-night to give you such reflections as seem to me to be of chiefest importance for our consideration. My conclusions may not be concurred in by all, but possibly what I say may be of some assistance in the formation of more correct opinion.

PROPHECIES.

The Fathers of Federated Canada delighted to proclaim that their offspring was to be a nation, and they did not hesitate to assign to it, prophetically and proudly, its place and order among the nations of the earth.

The Hon. Adams G. Archibald (N.S.) said that the united Provinces "would form a nation which in all the elements that constitute real greatness might be ranked as the third or fourth on the face of the globe" (Whelan, 11).

Lieut.-Col. Gray (N.B.) said that they "wanted a national union, one which would enable them to take an honorable place among the nations of the earth" (Ib. 102).

The Hon. Charles Fisher (N.B.) said that the federation "would be the fourth maritime power in the world. England, France, and the United States would alone be superior to it" (Ib. 173).

Sir George E. Cartier (Que.) said that the delegates had "met to enquire whether it were possible for the Provinces, from their present fragmentary and isolated materials, to form a nation or Kingdom" (Ib. 9, 10).

And Sir John A. Macdonald (Ont.) said that the delegates had in view "the noble object of founding a great British Monarchy, in connection with the British Empire, and under the British Queen" (Ib. 45). "I am," he said, "a subject of a great British-American nation, under the Government of Her Majesty, and in connection with the Empire of Great Britain and Ireland" (Ib. 47). "Confederation," he added, "would give them the national prowess and strength which would make them at least the fourth nation on the face of the globe" (Ib. 8). He preferred for the title of the new Confederation "The Kingdom of Canada," and he desired an Imperial alliance with the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Crown as the sufficient bond of union (3 Imp. Rev. 416). At another time Sir John Macdonald said that the new constitution "was intended to be, as far as circumstances would permit, similar to that of the Imperial Government, and recognizing the Sovereign of Great Britain as its sole and only head" (Gray, 55).

In accordance with these ideas a draft of the Federation Bill spoke not of the "Dominion of Canada," but of the "Kingdom of Canada" (Pope's Confederation Documents, 181), and Mr. Pope tells us that "Mr. Macdonald made every effort to retain the phrase," but it was changed (as Sir John himself wrote to a friend) "at the instance of Lord Derby, the Foreign Minister, who feared that the word 'Kingdom' would wound the susceptibilities of the Yankees" (Life of Sir John A. Macdonald, I. 313). What a blessed thing thing it is that Providence in His infinite mercy so bountifully provides these English Lords with grace and tact and liberality sufficient to keep our neighbors in such excellent good humor. I sometimes wonder if there is not a shade of contempt in the smiles with which they accept our surrenders.

The founders of our federation, then, desired that Canada should be a "nation." They wished to be "subjects of a great British-American nation," styled "The Kingdom of Canada," with the British Queen for their Sovereign. Gentlemen, is not that what we still desire, but that which we must still diligently seek after?

And well, sir, might the patriotic aspirations of these great men rise to such a height. In population the Provinces almost equalled that of the thirteen States when these declared for an entirely separate existence. As the Hon. George Brown pointed out, there were 40 sovereign nations in Europe, and 37 of them (including Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Saxony, Hanover, and Greece) had less population than united Canada, and Sweden and Norway, Belgium and Bavaria had very little more. Was it not time, then, thought these men, that British North America should take on the dignity and importance, the privileges and responsibilities of nationhood, with the Queen for their Sovereign, and in alliance with the United Kingdom?

NATION OR COLONY.

Once again in our history has it become somewhat fashionable to speak of Canada as a nation. Sir Wilfrid Laurier would educate us to the use of the

word, and it was his government that suggested that the words "King of Canada," should be one of the King's titles. Lord Rosebery proposed that instead of King "of all the British Dominions beyond the seas," it should read "King of Britains," because, he said, "It takes away from the title any sense of colony or dependency, which I think all who wish well to the Empire must be anxious to remove" (Hansard, 1898, 4th Sess., 528). Mr. Chamberlain speaks of us and our congeners as "sister States." Kipling, too, renounces the depreciatory term, and bids us be nations (Reinsch, 270). And, finally, the Marquis of Lorne, just before leaving Canada, said to us: "You are not the subjects, but the allies, of a great country, the country that gave you birth." (Reply to farewell address by Commons.)

But in spite of poetry and all declamation, we are not a nation; although what we are exactly is a little difficult in a word to express.

The editor of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Government of Dependencies" would scientifically describe us as a Protectorate; for, as is well known, a Protectorate implies personal supervision of foreign affairs, rather than political incorporation, or physical dominion (Reinsch, 100). In this view Protector and Protectorate is the beginning and ending of political paternal association. An empire may declare a Protectorate, for example, over Uganda; elevate it afterwards to a Crown Colony; then to a colony with legislative powers, but no responsible government; next to a self-governing colony; and when the power of self-government is complete, Uganda would again become a Protectorate, having mere personal relation once more with the dominant State. But Canada is not a Protectorate, for she is still under tutelage.

More frequently Canada is thought of as a self-governing colony; but we resent the "colony," and are unable to allege complete powers of self-government. There is no category in which, strictly speaking, we can be placed; and I desire for two purposes to ask you to inquire with me to-night into the precise nature of the relation which at the present moment exists between us and our political associates: first, that we may clearly understand what that relation is, and, second, that, so understanding, we may the more readily and intelligently envisage the future.

From among the many different definitions of a nation, we may select as common to the most authoritative of those referring to its political rather than its ethnographical signification, the condition that it "is a complete, or self-sufficient body of free persons" (Grotius); that it is "self-existent, autonomous and sovereign" (W. P. Johnston); and that it is "capable of maintaining relations with all other Governments" (Field: Int. Code, 2nd ed., 2. See Morse's Citizenship by Birth and by Naturalization, 3). Canada's political position, I regret to say, falls very far short of these requisites of nationality.

A good book on Colonial Government (Reinsch, 16), defines a colony, on the other hand, as "an outlying possession of a national State, the administration of which is carried on under a system distinct from, but subordinate to, the government of the national territory." And that exactly describes our position.

We are a colony, then, but we do not like the word. We feel that it carries with it a flavor of inferiority. And so it does. Emigrants are principally of

the proletariat class, comparatively few of the bourgeoisie, and practically none of the wealthy or highly cultured, leave the old shores. The colonies commence—as well in social culture as in numbers, and they may improve and increase as the years go by. But colony implies inferiority—inferiority in culture, inferiority in wealth, inferiority in government, inferiority in foreign relations, inferiority and subordination. “Colonization,” as Reinsch (14) has it, “implies the exertion of influence by a higher civilization upon one of a lower order.” We recognize the implication, and therefore dislike the term.

A SELF-GOVERNING COLONY?

But we are, nevertheless, a colony; and the books would have it that we are a self-governing colony. Is that true? And, if not, to what extent are we under authority?

All the power which we have comes from a statute passed at Westminster. It does not depend in any way upon our own declaration. The authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, of France, Germany, Italy, the United States, and so on, is all self-asserted. Ours is a gift from a power outside of us, the gift of the Imperial Parliament.

And the Parliament which gave can take away, or change, as it pleases. We are not sovereign. We are subordinate. We are not a nation, but a colony. Our Parliament is a legislative, but not a constituent, body (Bourinot, in Hodgins' *Dom. and Provincial Legislation*, 1315).

CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS.

More important than the derivation of our powers, is the answer to the question: What powers have we?

If Canada wished to have biennial, instead of annual Parliaments, she could not so enact. If she wanted to take her census every twelve years instead of ten, she would be powerless to make the change. If the Maritime Provinces wished to unite and become one Province, they would be advised that it was impossible. If Canada desired to increase the membership of her Senate, or to decrease the qualifications for it, or even to change the quorum of the House of Commons, her power would be found to be inadequate. The right to make her own coins is forbidden by express statute. Over such a comparatively trifling matter as the procedure to be adopted in appropriating her own money, Canada has no authority. And such a necessary change of the capital city as that from Ottawa to Winnipeg (I speak as a Winnipeger) cannot be accomplished by unanimous vote of our Parliament, our Legislatures, and all our people. Westminster can do these things for us. We cannot do them for ourselves. Self-government as to such, and many other matters simply does not exist.

Observe some of the points that have actually arisen. Four years after Federation, doubts were entertained as to the power of Canada to establish new Provinces in the North-West Territories, and to provide for their representation in Parliament. Westminster was appealed to, and an Act was passed there supplementary of our constitution.

In 1869 doubts arose as to the power of Canada to appoint a Deputy to the Speaker of the Senate, and an Imperial Statute was enacted to declare that it might be done.

In 1873 Canada passed a statute providing for the examination of witnesses upon oath by committees of the Senate and House of Commons; but it appeared that Canada had no power so to enact. Westminster came to our assistance, and we are now permitted to legislate in reference to the "privileges, immunities and powers" of our Senate and House of Commons, provided we do not go beyond those "held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House" at Westminster at the date of our legislation. We must do as they do, or do nothing at all.

In 1875 a Canadian statute, with reference to such a domestic matter as copyright within our own limits, was held to transcend our authority; and Westminster had again to be appealed to.

In 1878 our Parliament passed a bill with reference to the amount of space occupied by deck cargoes liable to tonnage dues. But Parliament exceeded, it was said, its power in legislating for all ships in Canadian waters. It should have confined itself to Canadian ships, and other ships were held unamenable to our legislation even while in our own waters (Hodgins, 58d).

In 1886 Canada wished to add to her Senate some representatives from the North-West Territories, but she was powerless, and assistance once more had to be sought for at Westminster.

Concluding this enumeration, let me add generally that every law which we may think necessary to enact, but "which is or shall be repugnant to the provisions of any (Imp.) Act of Parliament extending to the colonies," is declared by Imperial statute to "be and remain absolutely void and inoperative" to the extent of such repugnancy (Col. Laws Validity Act, 1865).

OUR COASTING TRADE.

A good example of this sort of limitation can be found in the former customs laws, by which the colonies were deprived of the power to impose protective duties upon British goods. We were not permitted to give any benefit or preference to our own manufacturers or producers. That limitation may be thought to belong to a colonial policy now happily abandoned, but we have it still in the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, by which authority is given to colonial Legislatures to regulate their own coasting trade, upon the express condition that they must "treat all British ships (including the ships of any other British possession) in exactly the same manner as ships" of their own (Sec. 736). In other words, Canada is powerless to give preference or protection to her own ships, engaged in her own coasting trade.

Thus, far, then, we have arrived at these points:

1. No Canadian legislation, even with reference to local affairs, can contravene any Westminster statute extending to Canada.
2. Even in the absence of any such contravention, Canada is impotent in very many respects.

This second statement must, however, be dealt with more fully, and various illustrations of our limitations given, in order that its extent may be fully appreciated. Let these further points, then, be noted.

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.

In the fact that Canada's powers are prescribed by statute, and that she is not a nation but some sort of a subordinate dependency, there is involved the strict limitation of her legislative jurisdiction to her own geographical boundaries. Sovereign nations are not so circumscribed. In this respect the Dominion of Canada is upon a level with the individual States of the American Union, and has not the power of Congress at Washington. Judge Cooley's remarks as to individual State powers applies equally to Canada:

"The legislative authority of every State must spend its force within the territorial limits of the State. The Legislature of the State cannot make laws by which people outside of the State must govern their actions, except as they may have occasion to resort to the remedies which the State provides, or deal with property situated within the State. It can have no authority upon the high seas beyond State lines, because there is the point of contact with other nations" (149).

And not merely upon the high seas have we no authority, but we are powerless to punish a man who is living in Canada for what he may have done beyond the border. Known criminals may reside here unpunished for their crime, so far as our laws are concerned, because we have not the legislative power of Denmark, or Belgium, or any of the hundred sovereign States of the world.

Observe some of the workings of this principle of legislative limitation. A native of Canada and resident there has half a dozen wives whom he married in the United States, and he brings them in turn to live with him in Toronto, and we cannot punish him for his bigamy (*Macleod v. Attorney-General, N.S.W.*, 1891, A.C. 455). There are thousands of Mormons in our North-West Territories, thousands more are coming, and Canada cannot condemn them as bigamists, for their offences were committed outside of Canada (Consult *Reg. v. Brierly*, 1887, 14 Ont. 525; *Reg. v. Plowman*, 25 Ont. 656; *re Criminal Code*, 1897, 27 S.C. 461).

Take another case: Affidavits are frequently used in Canadian courts, and one might think it reasonable that we should have power to punish, for perjury, any one who in any such affidavit swore to that which was false. But we cannot do so if the affidavits are sworn to outside our own boundaries, even when the deponents are British subjects and domiciled in Canada. For example, if a resident of Windsor swore to the falsehood in Detroit, instead of upon this side of the river, he might win his suit here, and yet be free, so far as we are concerned, of all charge of perjury (*Dom. St.*, 32 V., c. 26, objected to and amended 32-3 V., c. 23, s. 3).

Our legislative subordination may be illustrated by two other cases: An Imperial statute provided that affidavits made in Great Britain should be received in Canadian courts and, of course, we had to receive them, although it was contrary to our practice to do so (*Gordon v. Fuller*, 1836, 5 U.C., O.S. 174). But

it would be quite out of the question that we should enact that affidavits made in Canada should be received in English courts; and just as much out of the question that we should presume to punish the makers of the English affidavits for perjury if their assertions were false.

Upon similar principle, British Bankruptcy proceedings have certain effects in Canada, while similar proceedings in Canada have no corresponding effects in Great Britain. For example, lands in Canada will vest in an English Registrar in Bankruptcy by virtue of the Bankruptcy Acts, but no Canadian law could have any effect upon a bankrupt's land anywhere outside of Canada (*Callender v. Lagos* 1891, A.C. 460). So, too, a British discharge of the bankrupt is effective throughout the Empire, whereas a discharge in Canada has no effect whatever in Britain. One British Judge said that "it might as well be said that the laws of the State of Maryland would apply here." Another said that the colonial law "has the same force here as the law of a foreign country has" (*Bartley v. Hodges*, 1861, B. and S. 375).

NATURALIZATION.

The principle under discussion has very remarkable application to the subject of naturalization of aliens; for, while we can turn an alien (an American, for example) into a "British subject within Canada" (R.S. Can., c. 113, secs. 25, 26), and so give him "British nationality within Canada" (Ib. 28), we cannot affect his status in other parts of the Empire or the world. As Mr. Clement says, "No legislation by the Parliament of Canada can make an alien a British subject, quoad the Empire; it can do no more than give him, within the confines of the Dominion, the privileges, or some of the privileges, of naturalization" (2nd ed., 230). For similar reasons, Canadian legislation "cannot visit upon natural born British subjects, resident in Canada, any penalty for acts committed without the Dominion, for without the Dominion they are—quoad Canada—British subjects only, and their status as citizens of Canada is nought" (Ib. note).

There results from all this the curious fact that an American naturalized under Canadian law becomes a "British subject within Canada," and, therefore, ceases to be an American citizen; but outside of Canada he has no new status. He has sworn allegiance to His Majesty "as lawful sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Dominion of Canada," and has consequently repudiated his former allegiance to the United States; but his new situation is not that of a British subject, but that of a "British subject within Canada." He is, perhaps, the truest Canadian of us all.

TREATY-MAKING.

Closely associated with the question of extra-territorial power is the subject of treaty-making. Much confusion and misunderstanding exists with reference to it, principally because a very necessary division of the subject is not made. If we distinguish between war treaties, commercial treaties, extradition treaties, and settlement-of-dispute treaties, it becomes clear.

War treaties we have nothing to do with, nor, indeed, save indirectly, has the British Parliament anything to do with them. They are made by the Imperial Government, by His Majesty in Council, in which we have no representative, and over which we exercise no influence. If Mr. Balfour declared war against France to-morrow, Canada would be at war with France, and would remain so until the British Government brought it to a close. We would have nothing to do but fight; possibly doing some of it amongst ourselves.

Until recently our commercial treaties were made for us, and when the United Kingdom entered into an arrangement with a foreign country, we were, as a matter of course, included. When Canada's foreign trade had very largely expanded, more particularly when the trading world (with the exception of the United Kingdom) entered upon a system of protective and preferential tariffs, and when Canada's commercial policy had thus become quite inconsistent with that of the United Kingdom, a separation of foreign relations became imperative, and a consequent change in methods of negotiation ensued.

Our commercial separation commenced with the abrogation of the navigation laws and the abandonment of all claim to impose taxation upon our trade. It was emphasized, in 1879, in most marked fashion by our adoption of the protective system, and the consequent partial exclusion of British manufacturers. And it was all but completed, in 1898, when we succeeded in freeing ourselves from the German and Belgian treaties, which the United Kingdom had made for us without our assent, and, as they said, by an oversight.

In 1878 we obtained a declaration from the British Government that for the future no commercial treaty would be made by which Canada should be bound, unless she herself assented to it (Eng. Blue Book, Commercial, No. 5, 1903; Can. Sess. Pap., 1892, No. 24, p. 7). The German and Belgian treaties had been made before that date; but they are now gone, and we are free for the future from any commercial treaty obligations other than those of our own making.

More than that, in the negotiation of any such treaty we now (thanks to Sir Charles Tupper) take the leading part. The present practice is to associate a Canadian statesman with a British representative, and to entrust the practical work to the Canadian, while requiring the agreement to be signed by both. The other day Sir Wilfrid Laurier somewhat to the astonishment of Mr. Chamberlain, carried on negotiations at Ottawa with the German Consul at Montreal, without the leave or knowledge of anybody but his own colleagues. We have been accustomed for many years to enter into postal conventions with foreign countries upon our own responsibility, because no one had any interest in them but ourselves (See Statutes, Can., 1880, VII.). For the same good reason, the settlement of tariff treaties (call them conventions if you like), should be entirely and completely in our own hands.

Extradition treaties are at present made by the Imperial Government. There being no diversity of interest between us and the United Kingdom, Canada has so far acquiesced in this qualification of her authority. It is in no sense, however, an Imperial matter, and Canada ought to be in a position to make her own arrangements with reference to criminals who seek refuge within her own borders.

The fourth class of treaties, namely, those relating to the settlement of disputes which we may have with any foreign country, is not in such satisfactory

position, and the situation in its application to the Alaska case, has led to the assertion by Sir Wilfrid Laurier of a desire for greater control. I need not detail the facts or discuss the result. For myself, I say merely that truckling, like everything else, may develop into a habit; like many another habit, it is a bad one; and that the sooner it is stopped the better. The Marquis of Lorne's declaration, "You have the power to make treaties on your own responsibility with foreign nations" (*supra*), is not quite accurate. It ought to be well founded.

SUMMARY.

Summarizing thus far, we have ascertained (1) that Canada holds her power as the gift of a Parliament which may augment, diminish, or abolish it, at will; (2) that she has no power at all over a great variety of subjects; (3) that she has no part in the declaration of war or peace; (4) that, practically, she can make such commercial arrangements with foreign nations as she pleases; (5) that extradition treaties are made for her; and (6) that her situation with reference to settlement-of-dispute treaties is unsatisfactory. But our survey of Canada's powers is yet incomplete, for we have still to notice the control which our Federation Act gives to Downing Street over those subjects of legislation which are within our legislative jurisdiction. Even as to them we are far from sovereign.

DISSENT AND DISALLOWANCE.

This control^{*} is exercised in two ways: (1) Parliament, with its 298 members, may unanimously pass some measure, and the Governor-General may refuse to assent to it; or (2) the Governor may assent, and yet, afterwards, and at any time within two years, Downing Street may disallow it.

By one or other of these methods many purposes of the Canadian Parliament have been thwarted; not only when the interests involved were of large importance (coinage, for example), but also when they were almost of a private and personal nature, such as the attachment of the salaries of Government officials for payment of their debts, or the grant of a charter to Bytown, or a divorce to Mr. Harris. These instances were prior to Federation; but since then, among other cases, a statute of Canada fixing the Governor-General's salary at £6,500, was disallowed, because Downing Street's opinion as to a proper amount differed from that expressed by Parliament (Hodgins, 6. This in 1868. See later Act, 1869, c. 74, assented to).

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S POWER.

In other contests with Downing Street we have been more successful. It was asserted by Lord Carnarvon, for example, that the Governor-General personally, and not upon the advice of his Ministers, was entrusted with the power of disallowance of Provincial statutes. In other words, that the Governor-General, of his own motion, and contrary to the advice of his Ministers, could veto Provincial legislation. We are indebted to Mr. Blake for the overthrow of that idea. (Blake's Memo., 22nd Dec., 1875).

Similar contention was made with reference to the pardoning power—that it was a prerogative of the Crown; that the Governor-General represented the Crown; and that therefore, Canadian Ministers had nothing to do with the matter. Mr. Blake successfully combatted that notion, too, and the next Governor's instructions (Lord Lorne's) enabled our own men (except in rare instances) to control the pardons of our criminals.

More recently (1900) a number of commissions in the Imperial army were offered to Canadians. Nomination of the candidates was intrusted to Lord Minto, and our Government was asked to act as an unofficial advisory committee. But the Ministers declined to make recommendations "subject to final approval" by the Governor-General, declaring "that if they were to be responsible at all, the usual rule governing ministerial responsibility should prevail" (*The Canadian Contingents*, by Sandford Evans, 315).

COPYRIGHT.

The most notable instance of Downing Street interference with Dominion legislation is that relating to copyright. One would imagine that a nation, even of the 104th rank, would have complete control over such a matter as the right to sell books within its own territory, but Canada has no such power, and although it has been promised again and again, Canada cannot get it.

The trouble commenced with the Imperial statute of 1843 (5 & 6 Vic., c. 45), which, as Sir John Thompson said, "was immediately attended with great hardship and inconvenience in the North American colonies" (Sess. Pap., 1892, Vol. 12, No. 81), and was followed by vigorous protestations. In 1875 and 1890, some slight ameliorations of the situation were obtained, but Canada has never yet been given complete control of the sale of books within her own territory.

In 1840, Lord Grey acknowledged that interference was indefensible, and announced that "Her Majesty's Government proposes to leave to the Local Legislatures the duty and responsibility of passing such enactments as they may deem proper, for securing both the right of authors and the interests of the public" (Ib.).

In his dispatch of the 31st July, 1868, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos declared to the Governor-General that "the anomalous position of the question in North America is not denied" (Ib.).

In 1892, in a most elaborate report, the Imperial departmental officials said: "Admitting, as we must, that the present state of the Canadian law is unsatisfactory," etc. (Sess. Pap., 1894, Vol. 25, No. 50, Can.).

Lord Cranworth, in his judgment in *Low v. Bouverie* (L.R. 3 H.L. 100), said, "That His Majesty's colonial subjects are by the statute deprived of rights they otherwise would have enjoyed, is plain."

Mr. Justice Moss (*Smiles v. Belford*, 1 Ont. App. 436), puts the matter fairly and tersely when he said that the effect of the law "is to enable the British authorities to give an American publisher a Canadian copyright."

To remedy this state of affairs, the Canadian Parliament passed a bill in 1889. But it remains to-day inoperative, because Downing Street so decrees. Sir John Thompson fought vigorously for his country, and his two able and

exhaustive memoranda upon the subject ought to have resulted (but did not) in something better than inquiries and reports acknowledging that the "state of the Canadian law is unsatisfactory." In these documents, Sir John Thompson demonstrated (and it was not, and could not be, denied) that the "present policy" resulted in "making Canada a market for American reprints, and closing the Canadian press for the benefit of the American press;" he declared that the belief was growing that "the present state of the law is odious and unjust;" he requested that, after so many promises and such long delay, "some step in advance should be taken towards removing Canadian grievances, beyond the mere routine of inquiries, reports and suggestions," and he demanded that Canada be permitted to withdraw from the Berne Convention, for, as he said, "Canada has been repeatedly assured that her continuance in any treaty arrangements of this kind would be subject to her own desire to withdraw at any time on giving the prescribed notice."

Sir John's language was of the outspoken sort, and displayed not a little impatience. But Downing Street was unmoved. The history of its misdoings was properly labelled and filed, and the "regrettable incident" was thus brought to a victorious close.

Were we not becoming perfectly accustomed to it, we could hardly believe that in the Imperial Departmental Report (just referred to) one of the principal reasons assigned for declining to sanction our legislation was that it "would at least be open to the charge of being inconsistent with the declaration as to the law of the United Kingdom and the British possessions which was made to the United States last year." That is to say, because Lord Salisbury "last year" quite correctly informed the United States what the law then was, and because the United States may have acted upon that statement, therefore Canadian law must forever remain in an "unsatisfactory" state, and the British author must always be permitted "to give an American publisher a Canadian copyright."

Having to argue against such irritating nonsense and truckling obsequiousness as that, I do not wonder that Canada's Premier displayed a little impatience. I marvel at his moderation; and I renew his demand that Canada shall have complete control over the sale of books within her own territory.

LITIGATION.

Canada legislates for half a continent. She regulates a foreign trade of about a million and a half of dollars a day. She has established a banking system that is probably the best in the world, and the capital of her chartered institutions exceeds \$75,000,000. She has over a million children at school, and an army of nearly 30,000 teachers to instruct them. She writes about 80,000 letters every day. She has a railway trackage of 19,000 miles, and carried last year 22,000,000 passengers and nearly 50,000,000 tons of freight. She smokes some eight million pounds of tobacco in a year, and she continues to walk fairly correctly under an annual load of 15 million gallons of liquor. But she is not permitted to settle her own law suits. When in 1875 we established our Supreme Court at Ottawa, we were compelled to forego that power. The authority that France gives to Algeria, and that all the midget States of the world possess, is

too great to entrust to Canada. Australia asked for it when, more recently, her Commonwealth charter was under discussion. But in vain. Colonists—self-governing colonists, they are called—are not allowed to settle their own law suits. The Malay States can do that much.

And what is the result? The principal effect is that Canada is forced to develop according to the ideas of a body of men out of touch and sympathy with Canadian methods and notions, instead of being expanded according to the genius and the wishes of Canadians themselves. Upon a subject of this sort it behoves a Canadian barrister to speak with reserve and respect. I shall, therefore, make use of the language of an English King's Counsel, Mr. Haldane (than whom no man outside of the Privy Council itself can speak with greater authority), taken from his eulogy of Lord Watson, one of the ablest men who ever sat upon the Judicial Committee: "He was an Imperial Judge of the very first order. The function of such a Judge, sitting in the supreme tribunal of the Empire, is to do more than decide what abstract and familiar legal conceptions should be applied to particular cases. His function is to be a statesman as well as a jurist, to fill in the gaps which Parliament has deliberately left in the skeleton constitutions and laws that it has provided for the British colonies. The Imperial Legislature has taken the view that these constitutions and laws must, if they are to be acceptable, be in a large measure unwritten, elastic, and capable of being silently developed, and even altered, as the colony develops and alters. This imposes a task of immense importance and difficulty upon the Privy Council Judges, and it was this task which Lord Watson had to face when some fifteen years ago he found himself face to face with what threatened to be a critical period in the history of Canada." After referring to the Canadian cases, and to the decisions of the Canadian courts, Mr. Haldane adds: "Great unrest was the result, followed by a series of appeals to the Privy Council, which it was discovered still had power to give special leave from them, was commenced. . . . Lord Watson made the business, of laying down the new law, that was necessary, his own. He completely altered the tendency of the decisions of the Supreme Court" (*Juridical Review*, 1899, 279).

I am inclined to think, gentlemen, that there is something in this statement that is not very pleasant reading for Canadians; my only remark upon it is that if there is work for statesmen to do in the development of our constitution, we ought to do it ourselves.

Leaving aside these constitutional cases, may I not say that there is, if possible, still less justification for Privy Council intervention in our every-day actions. Lacking local knowledge, and all those shades of feeling and points of view which life in Canada alone can give, the Privy Councillors are, as I think, unable to appreciate some of the arguments which, to a Canadian, are full of significance and meaning. For example, how can men, who have no experience of our systems of land registration, learn sufficient in one argument to decide difficult points involved in their practical working? How is it possible for men who are engaged one day upon Hindoo law, another upon Burmese law, and the next upon Singalese law, and so on, to deal satisfactorily, not only with Quebec law, but with the Torrens system of land registration? Professor Dicey's book,

for example, on "The Law of the Constitution," is the best work on the subject; but what colonial lawyer could read it without observing mistakes relating to colonial law? Although Reinsch is nearer to us geographically, yet he, too, stumbles badly when referring to Canadian law. The article by Lord Thring in the March number of the 19th Century furnishes another example of the same thing.

But whether these Privy Council Judges can or cannot appreciate our cases, I, as a barrister and a Canadian, decline to admit that Canada, with her six millions of people, is not as able as the United States was, with its three and a half millions, and as the United States is to-day with its eighty millions, or as Algeria is, to decide her own law suits.

And even if it could be proved that Canadians are unfit to settle their own quarrels, I would object to the degradation involved in the admission of it, and I would contend that it would be better sometimes to make mistakes (the Privy Council makes lots of them) than to be kept forever in leading strings. If we cannot settle our own law suits, let us learn to do so by trying.

THE FUTURE.

We have now finished our survey of Parliamentary and judicial power in Canada, and the picture is sufficiently humiliating. I agree with Dr. Parkin in saying that "if the greater British colonies are permanently content with their present political status, they are unworthy of the source from which they sprang" (*Imperial Federation*, p. 12; and see p. 31). What are we going to do about it? It seems to be taken for granted that there are but three alternatives before us—*independence, annexation, and stay as we are*. I venture to suggest a fourth, namely, to go on as we have been going.

Almost every step in Canadian political history has been towards greater legislative freedom. Every step has been taken with difficulty, and in the face not only of Downing Street opposition, but, strangely enough, of objection and resistance from many Canadians. Every step has been denounced as involving, or tending towards, a separation from British connection. And yet (mark this), every step has but served to strengthen the tie. Lord Thring says truly (in the article already referred to) that "the history of Imperial union shows that as the legal ties are slackened, the moral ties are tightened." The Canadian rebellion was not in the present century, when our freedom is greatest; and our contingents did not enlist for foreign service in 1837, when we had British connection up to the hilt. What is the meaning, then, of these objections from our own people to the extension of our own legislative power?

BRITISH CONNECTION.

The answer is very simple, but is almost universally missed. Clearly define what you mean by British connection, and all becomes clear. Very erroneously it is assumed to imply legislative subordination: a relation of superiority upon the one side and inferiority upon the other, of leadership and obedience, of control and subjection. And if that be correct, then it is true that every step towards

legislative freedom is a subtraction from British connection, and it is also momentously true that very few more steps will end it.

Possessed vaguely of this notion, many excellent Canadians struggle strenuously against Canada's legislative emancipation. They regard with the greatest anxiety the snapping of each tie, as they call it, not understanding that their ties are mere worrying bits of annoying hindrances to cordial relationship. I resent, and have always resented, these irritating Don'ts and Mustn'ts, with which Lord This or That, from time to time, reminds us of our subordination. And I am not in the least appeased when told that it is good for us, and that Downing Street knows better than we do. An American gets more respect in London than a colonist. In my opinion, he is entitled to it.

INDEPENDENCE.

Having, gentlemen, some experience of this rather rigid sort of arguing, I feel that some one wants to break in upon me at this point, and say, "Very well, then you are in favor of independence." To which (risking exasperation) I reply, define your term, and I shall answer you. If you mean legislative independence—power to regulate the sale of books in our own territory, to settle our own lawsuits, to make our own five-cent pieces and our own commercial arrangements, I say "Yes, I advocate independence," and in return I ask, "Do you advocate dependence, and if so, for how long?" Until we are ten millions, or 25, or 50? Or have we earned an imprescriptable right to eternal dependence?

But if by independence you mean separation from the British Crown, and the election of a new King, or President, I answer "No, I do not advocate independence." Let us go on as we have been going. We have been advancing towards legislative freedom. Let us advance. We have stood still upon our allegiance to the British Crown. Let us still stand steadily there.

British connection, sir, does not involve, or depend upon, subjection or subordination. If it did, I, and all lovers of Canada, would, or ought to, set ourselves firmly against it. This notion, that we are not to govern ourselves, in every widest and minutest particular, is becoming absolutely intolerable to vast numbers of Canadians, and by our rapidly advancing development will soon be an anachronism and an absurdity. British connection has no relation whatever with paternalism; and there will be no truest British connection until paternalism is forever finished and sent to limbo.

Instead of the too prevalent self-distrust, self-disparagement, and self-renunciation, I venture to preach to my fellow-countrymen another doctrine, and to hold out to them a better future. Canada's Parliament shall be as omnipotent as that at Westminster. The King's Canadian Ministers shall advise him upon all things Canadian, with the same constitutional authority as British Ministers advise their Sovereign upon all things British; our own men shall decide our own lawsuits, and command our own forces; and our own money shall provide for our own defences, and for such mutual aid as we ourselves may approve.

I adopt Col. Denison's language as a short expression of my views: "Independence within the Empire." But by "independence" I mean independence, not merely the amount of it which we have at present. I mean that we are to

be as independent as the United Kingdom itself; that our Parliament shall be as omnipotent (subject to such safeguards as we ourselves, and for our own purposes, impose) as the Parliament at Westminster; that Downing Street shall have no more control over our legislation than Parliament Hill at Ottawa has over British statutes; that, even as Sir Elzear Taschereau and his colleagues exercise no supervision over British litigation, so also the Privy Council shall cease to interfere with ours; in short, that we shall be a nation, "self-existent, autonomous, sovereign," and "capable of maintaining relations with all other governments."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

But if so, what about Imperial Federation? Is that to be given up? Once more (This is one of my fads), I ask for definition. What do you mean by Federation? We have a federation here of our own. It consists of a number of individual states with local legislatures, and a federal union, with a common parliament possessed of very extensive jurisdiction. There is a federation to the south of us, and a federation in Germany, and another in Switzerland. In all of these the distinctive feature is local state legislatures, and a federal parliament. Now, is that what you mean by Federation of the Empire? If so, I am opposed to it, and so, I think, are you. If there is to be a federal legislature there must necessarily be assigned to it some subjects in respect of which it may legislate. But Canadians are absolutely determined that for the future they are going to make all their own laws. With immense difficulty we have acquired that right in almost complete form. And what we have we'll hold. None of it shall go back to Westminster or to Downing Street. Our federal legislature is at Ottawa, and there it shall remain. There is, therefore, nothing for any Imperial Federal Parliament to do; and Imperial Federation without an Imperial Parliament remains, as it always was, a dream.

The only other sort of federation (and I would not give it that name) is that in which each State is absolutely complete in itself, but has an arrangement, either organic or otherwise, with some other State for co-operation in certain prescribed spheres. If we made a reciprocity treaty, for example, with the United States, for ten years, we would for that period give up our right to legislate in derogation of our agreement, but we would not the less be a nation; and the United States and Canada would not be a political federation. And in the same way, if we arranged for war co-operation with the United Kingdom, and constituted a council, or (as in Austro-Hungary), Delegations, with necessary authority in that respect, we, as also the United Kingdom, although bound by our agreement, would be sovereign States; and no more, because of our agreement, would we be politically federated than are Britain and Japan to-day, or France and Russia.

But, in addition to this association for mutual help in time of war (which might form a very important part of our national arrangements), we must remember that the King is the bond of Imperial Union. Although, therefore, political federation is altogether out of the question, yet union is essentially present, in the sense that the various Kingdoms of the Empire shall have a common Sovereign, whose proud title shall be, not, as at present, King "of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions over the seas," but King "of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the British Dominions over the seas"—a Multiple Monarchy such as the world has never seen.

KINGDOM OR DOMINION.

Shall I answer more categorically why I would substitute "Kingdom" for "Dominion" in Canada's name? It is, first, because of the connotations of the latter word. Blackstone says that "a country conquered by the British arms becomes a *dominion* of the King in the right of his Crown, and, *therefore, necessarily* subject to the legislation of the Parliament of Great Britain" (Hall v. Campbell, Cowp. 208). I claim independence of the Parliament of Great Britain; and I object, therefore, to Canada being called a "dominion," for the word implies subjection. Further, I object to being called a "British dominion," for I assert that Canada belongs, not to the British, but to Canadians (saving always allegiance to the King). And I resent being lumped with Trinidad, and Guiana, and Barbadoes, as "British Dominions over the seas." Canada, I desire to remark, is on this side of the seas—of the two largest seas in the world; and it stretches across, a few thousand miles or so, from one of them to the other. Secondly, I claim the word "Kingdom," because the assertion of political equality necessarily involves the assumption of an equal title. Until we have that, we shall be thought of, and shall probably be, subordinate, and colonial, and somebody's dominions, some thousands of miles in more or less definite direction, over the seas. Had we received at baptism the name which Sir John A. Macdonald desired, we would now undoubtedly be not only in fact, but in sentiment, much more of a nation than we are to-day. We should have grown to our title.

A gentleman recently said to me, "I do not like the word Kingdom; it is too pretentious." Sir, it is the spirit of that remark that I deplore, and would eradicate, if I could. Is Canada too humble in origin, and too insignificant in fact to be a nation? Must she hesitate to assume a title which Scotland had centuries ago when her people were clans of mutual predators; which Servia and Montenegro and the rest have to-day; and which Ireland has, although she is without the self-governing power of our North-West Territories. Do not let us be afraid to be as great as we are, and what we are, let us try clearly to realize.

WAR.

Canada is at present loath to prepare for the eventuality of war, and she declines to subscribe to Imperial necessities. And Canada is right. Let him who calls the tune pay the piper. Canada has no voice in questions of war and peace, and rightly enough she distrusts those who may to-morrow embroil her in conflict. Lord Salisbury little thought that civil war in Canada might be the result of his Fashoda ultimatum. That was unnoticed, or, if observed, may have been considered to be a mere unfortunate necessity. Canadians might have thought differently; and might have taken an opportunity to remind Lord Salisbury of Newfoundland, about which he was not nearly so peremptory.

Canada's lack of enthusiasm for Imperial preparation is because she has no voice in the production or evasion of hostilities; because she is bound up in war treaties without her consent, and without her knowledge; and because she is merely told to get ready to fight, and to suffer, and to pay—fight whom, or for what reason, she has no right to ask, and is thought to be traitorous and treasonable if she discusses it.

Gentlemen, it is impossible that that should be a permanent arrangement. It is intolerably unsatisfactory. It pertains to the boyhood, and not to the maturity of our people. It robs us of our nationality. It takes from us a true sense of our proper responsibilities, and with that (little wonder) goes all, or nearly all, our incentive to undertake them.

BRITISH CONNECTION.

British connection must be based upon something better, and other, than Canada's subjection. It must have for its chief corner stone that absolute freedom for which she has so long been struggling, and which is now within her reach, were we unanimous in the assertion of it.

If it depends upon the continuation of the shreds of paternalism which still remain, if it depends upon keeping us worried over irritating bits of grandmotherly interference, then for my part I say to British connection "Adieu." But, gentlemen, the best sort of association is not that which provokes constant protest against irksome details of it. It depends, rather, upon the removal of all annoying hinderances to that perfect harmony and good will which are so essentially necessary to its highest efficiency and its greatest development.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The British Empire has survived its feudal stage and must take on other character. Not much longer may the United Kingdom play the part of Baron, with colonies of the stature of Canada for feudatories and retainers, who are to submit to his laws, to fight his battles, to pay him reverence, and to swear to be his men. The feudal system was right and necessary enough in the periods fitted for it; but as education, and commerce, and the conception of the dignity of man, increased, vassalage and all subservience were succeeded by higher and nobler ideas of brotherhood and equality.

And the British Empire must assume this grander character, and rise to its higher ideal. Not inferiority, but equality. Not subservience, but equipollence. Not subjection either of Canada to the United Kingdom now, or of the United Kingdom to Canada when their proportionate importance shall be reversed, but absolute and unreserved brotherhood, making with Australia, South Africa, and other great Kingdoms, "a galaxy of nations" (a), which by their example of concord and affection, by their strength and widely extended situation, and by that regard for right conduct which alone can give true glory to a people, may not merely induce the world to tread the paths of peace and good will, but may inspire among men nobler sentiments concerning their common humanity, and their duty of mutual helpfulness.

(a) Sir Wilfrid Laurier's phrase at Dominion Day banquet, 3rd July, 1902.

Mr. Ewart said he would be glad to answer any questions, and Mr. E. E. Horton asked if Canada had no power to prevent the introduction of polygamists into the North West. Mr. Ewart's answer was that Canada has the right to pass an Act making it a crime for a man having more than one wife to enter Canada, in the same way that she had the power to make it a crime for a Chinese to come into Canada, or for a man to bring stolen goods into Canada. But we could not punish anyone in Canada for his bigamy committed elsewhere.

Mr. George C. Campbell asked if other protests had not been made by Canadian Ministers of Justice than those specified. Mr. Ewart gave other instances, and concluded: "There are only a few things left yet. If we go on as we have been going, and settle the points as we reach them, we shall soon be ready for the title of the Kingdom of Canada."

BY JOHN BERTRAM.

Mr. John Bertram, in moving a vote of thanks to the speakers, referred to his pleasure in listening to two experts, the one on transportation, the other on constitutional questions. Mr. Reford had spoken of the geographical question, and that, to his mind, was an all-important phase of development. He was not at all despondent about the slow progress Canada had been making as compared with the United States, because the reason of Canada's backwardness had really been her relative geographical position. Looking back 104 years, to 1800, the United States had a population of 5,200,000, strangely enough, the same population that Canada had in 1900. In 1800 large areas of the States were within easy access. There was a vast Atlantic seaboard, with large rivers, such as the Albany, the James, the Mississippi, opening up large basins of fine land. It was inevitable that the States should go ahead rapidly. If we compared the advancement of Ontario with the advancement of States situated analogously on the other side of the lakes, one found that old Ontario had kept pace pretty well, and the greater development of the States had taken place only in districts that were easier of access. The United States had developed in the 19th century; Canada's development would come in the 20th, and he would be surprised if it was not quite as rapid as the States' in the 19th century. We should remember that it was less than twenty years ago that the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, and that previous to that the immense territory west of Lake Superior had been a vast terra incognita. And already the centre of gravity of the Dominion was shifting in that direction.

Canada has an especially favorable situation. In Siberia the rivers all run into the icebound Arctic Ocean, and the only communication is by means of railways. The rivers could be used to float nothing. In Canada we have a chain of lakes that is absolutely unique. We have also a great inland sea, the Canadian Sea, which is 1,000 miles from north to south, and between 600 and 700 miles wide. We are apt to forget the significance of this possession. It was said that it was open only four months in the year, but it was stated recently by one who had been there that it was accessible for six months. But

whether it was four months or six months, it is ours, and we must use it. Fort Churchill is as near Great Britain as New York. Then we have the Athabasca and the Peace Rivers, with Lake Athabasca as near Britain as Chicago, which is practically the centre of the United States. And at the foothills of the Rockies we were as near Britain as Minneapolis or St. Paul, who no doubt though they were pretty near the heart of the United States. We have the greatest reason to look to the future with hope.

It was a significant fact, as Mr. Reford has pointed out, that we are on the highway between Europe and Asia. Ours was the nearer route, and we should have it utilized at once by the establishment of the fast Atlantic line. Supposing the line did cost us one or two or three million, what matter, now that we are becoming such a large and wealthy nation? The sooner the fast service is established the better.

He was glad that the Government had taken heart of grace, and had decided to build a new transcontinental railway. It was not a frozen country that that railway would pass through. In this Province it would open up another Ontario, where we knew there were 16,000,000 acres of good clay land. That this was not beyond the temperate zone was demonstrated by the fact that the 49th parallel, which was the southern boundary of Manitoba, and our Northwest, passed 60 or 70 miles north of Lake Abitibi. And at Lake St. John, in Quebec, and at Wabigoon in Ontario, one could see wheat fields, so there was no reason why the clay belt would not be a grain-producing country.

And, again, beyond this clay belt, Canada possessed yet another Ontario in the vast district of Keewatin, lying between the Nelson and the Albany Rivers, which was as fertile as new Ontario, with the difference that it was geologically of limestone formation, being the bottom of old Lake Agassiz.

He had also been greatly interested in Mr. Ewart's address. It was one of the greatest pleasures of thoughtful men to listen to the sincere convictions of another, and the Canadian Club was large, and wide, and liberal enough to listen to opinions, even if not always agreeing with them. While listening he had been almost afraid to think of what the outcome was to be. He was one of those old-fashioned people who was proud to call himself a British subject, and delighted to quote the words of the late Sir John Macdonald: "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die." He was in many respects extremely conservative and believed in making changes slowly. Many nations had made serious blunders by doing things in a hurry. There was as an instance, the French Revolution, and, generally speaking, any system of government based entirely on mere theories was likely to end disastrously. The Scotch made the mistake of arriving at conclusions by deduction instead of induction; sometimes they arrived at the truth, but in that way the method was not safe.

If Canada followed the lines laid down by Mr. Ewart, and go on as she had been going, she would come out all right. Mr. Ewart had referred to the British ships, which can come to Canadian ports and engage in coasting or other trade without restriction. The result of this was that Canadian ship-builders were not only not protected, but were even worse off, because they had to pay a heavy duty on many of the materials entering into the construction of

a ship. The only way that the Canadian shipbuilder could withstand the competition was convincing buyers that his workmanship was superior. And that was exactly what he was doing. Mr. Bertram said he was not seeking to advertise Canadian shipbuilding, but would show that what he claimed was the fact. The ship-builders among the United States manufacturers, who were the sharpest, shrewdest and, he might add, not the most scrupulous competitors that any nation ever had, by a process of evolution departed from Lloyd's rule, and built grain-carrying vessels for the Great Lakes that could carry more than 105,000 bushels—the cargo of a full canal size British built steamer—while we in Canada, following the American method, built the same size to carry 120,000 bushels.

Taking this instance, quoted by Mr. Ewart, as a sample, it appeared that we had our limitations. We would have to submit to them, and take up each case as it arose. He thought Canada ought to have a larger measure of liberty in the making of commercial treaties, especially with the United States. He had told an English Lord once that he and his peers were exceedingly agreeable gentlemen, but when it came to driving bargains with the keen, shrewd Yankees, they ought to leave the task to the Canadians. That Canadians were perfectly competent to negotiate with the smart Yankees had been demonstrated when the United States passed its Dingley Act, with the retaliatory clause regarding saw logs, which was intended to shove Canadian saw mills to the wall. But the framers of that Bill had not taken into account the powers of the Provincial Government in Canada, and when the Ontario business men got together to think over how the Yankees could be checkmated, they concluded that the proper way would be to get the Ontario Government to prohibit the export of saw logs from Crown lands to the States. This, after some hesitation, due to fear of the powerful Americans, had been done, with the result that, instead of the Canadian saw mills going to the States, all the American saw mills were coming to Canada, and bringing good citizens, too.

(April 4.)

Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Route.

BY J. W. TYRRELL, M.E., C.E., D.L.S.

A number of visits to Newfoundland, Labrador and Hudson Bay have given Mr. Tyrrell an extensive fund of information of a valuable kind. In addressing the Club he spoke as follows:

Newfoundland, said to have been discovered by Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, is the oldest, and yet the least developed, of the British possessions in America. In point of size, it ranks tenth among the islands of the world—being 317 miles in length from north to south, and about equal breadth from east to west, and possesses a superficial land area of about 42,000 square miles. The population of the island is now about 220,000 souls—a very large proportion of whom, being engaged in the fishing business, reside on the coast; the interior being practically uninhabited, excepting along the line of the Reid Newfoundland Railway, which crosses the island from Port-a-Basque at the extreme south-west, to St. John's at the eastern extremity, by a winding route of 548 miles—nearly double the distance of the extreme width of the Island. Even along the line of railway the settlements, as a rule, are few and insignificant. The exceptions, found only here and there, are the camps of some enterprising lumber or mining companies—most of which are composed of Americans or Canadians.

It seems difficult to understand why Newfoundland, after 400 years of colonial life, has made so little progress or advancement as she has. Fishing has been the only industry of the country amounting to anything, for lumbering has received comparatively little attention, and such industries as agriculture or stock raising are not attempted. The mining industry of the colony is now coming to the front, but until recently has remained dormant. Flour and almost all other foodstuffs are imported, and the people seem content to subsist on cod-fish and hard-tack, rather than to raise from the soil greater luxuries of life.

The general character of the coast of Newfoundland is very broken, rocky and mountainous, the highest elevations being over 2,000 feet. One of the most noted mountains on the Island is known as "Blo-mi-Don," 2,125 feet, and is situated on the south shore of Bay of Islands, on the west coast, where it causes great inconvenience to vessels passing to or from the Humber Arm. It may seem strange that a mountain on the coast should have any serious bearing upon the navigation of the bay, but it has, for when the wind blows across the bay from the direction of "Blo-mi-Don," the most violent squalls are produced, and they strike down upon the water with such terrible force as to whirl great columns of spray from its surface and carry them long distances to seaward.

These high elevations of the land are only sparingly wooded with birch, spruce, poplar and other timber of small size, but in many of the lower sections

of the country, and especially in some of the stream valleys several varieties of timber of good size are found to occur—notably pine, spruce, larch, birch, poplar, etc. In some of these valleys an excellent quality of soil is found, and there is every reason to believe that were the land reclaimed under a proper system of cultivation, large tracts of the country are capable of yielding most of the necessities of life.

Chief amongst the economic resources of Newfoundland are the coast fisheries, in which probably nine-tenths of the occupants of the Island find their employment. The more important varieties of fish being cod, haddock, ling, halibut, sole, salmon trout, capelin, smelts, and herring. Mackerel were at one time very abundant, but have become scarce of late years.

Next to the fisheries, timber has been until recently the greatest industrial product of the Island, and the following are the principal varieties there found: White pine, red pine, scrub pine, black spruce, white spruce, red spruce, balsam, fir, larch, white birch, yellow birch, black birch, white ash, black ash, mountain ash, balsam poplar, aspen poplar, willows, etc.

It is to the third and last division of natural products that I believe Newfoundland can now look for its greatest development. Valuable minerals have long been known to exist on the Island, and some of them have been mined in a small way for half a century or more; but it is only now that the attention of outside capital is being directed towards the island colony, and bringing to light the fact that Newfoundland is a mining country. The chief mineral ores found are as follows: Iron, copper, galena, manganese, nickel, gypsum sulphur, petroleum, sandstones, granite, asbestos, mica, chromite, marbles and slate.

The following figures represent the value of the chief mineral products of Island for the past five years:

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Brick	7,570	8,464	11,200	13,050	18,950
Building stone..	900	500	500	5,000	6,900
Copper.....	656,741	1,165,757	1,045,387	1,028,207	715,008
Gold	57,525	53,742	49,608	43,609	82,680
Granite	20,000	500	2,500	19,710	17,730
Iron	712,200	2,650,128	2,841,348	6,562,032	5,465,400
Paving stone ...	13,600	28,100	.....	14,000	18,000
Pyrites	226,345	183,076	.....	28,237	117,000
Slate	1,350	.....	10,800	22,500	44,000

The Government of the Island is much like that of Canada, on a smaller scale, and consists of a Governor, appointed by the Crown; Executive Council of seven members chosen from the majority of the representatives of the people; a Legislative Council, or Upper House, of fifteen members, chosen for life; a House of Assembly, or Lower House, of thirty-one members, elected every four years by the voice of the people. From the latter body are selected the chief officers of the Government, namely: The Colonial Secretary, who is also Secretary of the Executive Council; the Attorney-General, Receiver-General, Solicitor-General, Surveyor-General, Financial Secretary and Chairman of Board of Works.

In regard to the question of federation with Canada, so far as I could learn during my recent sojourn on the Island, the prevailing opinion seemed to be that such a union would greatly benefit their country—and I am sure that it would do so. Yet, they are by no means prepared to rush into Confederation without receiving very liberal terms from Canada.

The position they take is this: Whilst they admit that they might be "better off" as part of the great Confederacy, they claim that they are now prospering under their own local government, and feel content to leave well enough alone. Besides this, they claim that when, a few years ago, after the great St. John's fire, and their country was in a state of bankruptcy, they asked to be taken into the Dominion, we demanded such unreasonable conditions that they were forced to decline their acceptance.

At the present time, I am quite satisfied that if Confederation between Canada and Newfoundland is brought about, it must be through the efforts of Canadians, and I hope that we shall see those efforts put forth, for probably most of us will agree that the acquisition of Newfoundland, situated as she is in the very gateway to our great Dominion, would be most desirable.

We must remember that to Newfoundland belongs the whole eastern coast of Labrador, nearly one thousand miles in length, without which we are cut off from the Atlantic seaboard, just as we are by the pan-handle of Alaska on the Pacific coast, and because of this fact alone, if for no other reason, I think we should press negotiations for the bringing of our little sister colony into Confederation with us.

In regard to the question of the navigation of Hudson Straits—upon which I have been asked to express my opinions—I may say that since my first visit to the locality in 1885 I have been impressed with the great value of Hudson Bay and Straits as the natural commercial outlet of the Canadian Northwest.

Unfortunately, the mouths of all the rivers emptying into the more southerly parts of Hudson Bay, or into James Bay, are very shallow, and the construction of harbors would involve great expense. York was at one time looked to as a promising harbor, but when we went there on the historic "Alert" we had to lay ten miles out to sea. There was, it is true, a channel from the mouth of the river seaward, but it was too narrow and tortuous to be followed, and with the flooding in the spring it is liable to take on an entirely different course from year to year. But at Fort Churchill, on the west coast, there is a fine large natural harbor, completely landlocked, affording good anchorage.

The body of Hudson Bay is never frozen over, any more than is Lake Ontario, the chief obstruction to navigation occurring in Hudson Straits, where the ice jams at certain seasons of the year. The harbors, of course, are frozen, but they are open as long as are the Straits.

During the year 1886, when I was located on an island at the narrowest part of the Straits, January and February were the only two months in which the ice was observed to be set fast, but at other times, from December to May (inclusive) the Straits were more or less filled with heavy drifting ice, sufficient to obstruct ordinary traffic.

From my personal observation I am of the opinion that for suitably constructed vessels, Hudson Straits are navigable for five months of the year, i.e., from the middle of June to the middle of November, with a possibility of an additional two weeks before and after those dates.

Of course, I do not say that ice would not be encountered during the five months, but I would call your attention to what is being done in the Straits of Mackinaw and on the Baltic, where three or four feet of ice are cut through and broken down. For 200 years or more Hudson Bay has been navigated by small crafts, and losses have been extremely infrequent. I have heard of only two vessels being destroyed, and they were small. The loss of one occurred since our expedition. It was off Fort Churchill, but the same accident might have happened off Toronto harbor.

As to the advantages to be gained through the opening up of the Hudson Bay route, I will only mention that the distance from Churchill via Hudson Bay and Straits to Liverpool is little more than that from Montreal, and less than that from New York to Liverpool, and the saving in rail travel from, say, Regina, would be eight hundred miles.

A member asked Mr. Tyrrell if he regarded Hudson Bay as an open sea.

I regard, and always have regarded, Hudson Bay as a Canadian sea, said Mr. Tyrrell. It is entirely surrounded by Canadian territory, and no other country has any business there, I mean in the way of passing to and from its possessions. The fact remains that United States people have been whaling there for many years, reaping the harvest, while we have been looking on, and they may on our acquiescence in this respect base a claim for equal rights with us in Hudson Bay. But my own feelings are very strong on the matter.

(April 11.)

The Relations of Capital and Labor.

BY PROF. L. F. LYBARGER, PHILADELPHIA.

In discussing the relations of capital and labor, Prof. Lybarger declared that the first thing to consider is the problem of freedom of trade. Every progressive step, from the most primitive conditions, when the Indians traded tomahawks, to the present time, when some sought the wealth of the fields, others of the mines, others of the seas, was the result of freedom of trade, and through it more wealth comes to each part of civilization.

The conflict which is in progress between capital and labor is about the question of what proportion of the product of industry shall go to those who conceive and what proportion to those who execute. With each succeeding generation the conflict grows more intense, a conflict between the planners, the conceivers, the originators, the inventors who are organizing on the one side, and those who execute, the soldiery, who are organizing on the other. For years to come there would be hostilities from both sides. Prof. Lybarger expressed the belief that in Canada the contest was not as keen as in the United States, that there was not yet the same perfection in the organization of capital and labor. In his opinion both capital and labor were in the right and both were in the wrong.

One of the first steps in the solution of industrial problems was the elimination of the element of speculation from business. Although all of us are trying to get all we can, he believed that the man like Rockefeller paid the price for his wealth, in health and peace of mind. If these were sacrificed for gold the price was too much. Nowadays the trusts and combines were building up pyramids. He was not saying that they were wrong, but he was just looking around to see which way he would run when the pyramid falls.

Prof. Lybarger predicted that some day laws governing the phenomena of the industrial world, similar to those which govern the phenomena of chemistry or of physics, would be discovered, and then solution of the problems would be easier. He declared that these laws, however, would never be found until we turned our attention to the subject of land.

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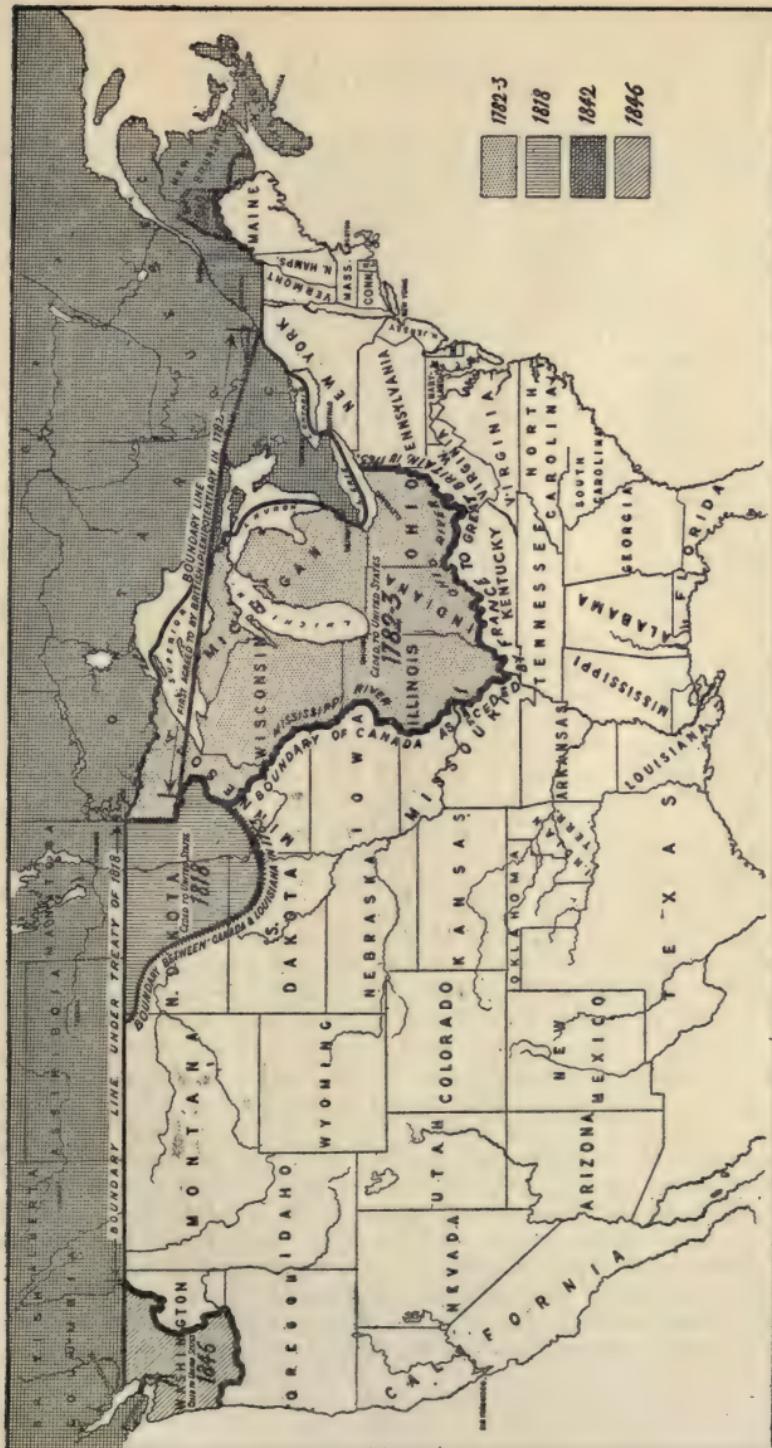
(April 18.)

Canada and the Treaty-Making Power.

BY THOMAS HODGINS, JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY COURT.

Judge Hodgins set out with a definition of treaties between nations, likening them to international statutes passed by the delegated representatives of national governments and then regally assented to by their respective sovereigns, just as in constitutionally governed communities the national statutes are passed by the delegated representatives of the nation and assented to by the sovereign head of the nation. And as in our system of laws we have what is designated our unwritten common law, so among all civilized nations there are unwritten but understood principles and rules of common justice and national common right which have been accepted as dictums of international law. It had been well said: "A nation is a moral person, capable of obligations which its rights impose; and no act of its own can annihilate its obligations to another nation."

Canadians, said Judge Hodgins, must look forward to the time when the Dominion would take a more prominent position in Imperial affairs, while impressed with the duty of safeguarding the policy of Canada first, where it did not harmfully affect the interests of other portions of the Empire. The claim of Canada to treaty-making power came within this latter policy, and while arousing criticism from some English periodicals, it was not new. Hon. Edward Blake had formulated it as early as 1882, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier within the past year—not absolute treaty-making power, but the making of treaties subject to the Sovereign's veto. Neither would colonial treaty-making power, if granted, be such a constitutional novelty in the government of British dependencies as had been assumed. The East India Company, by virtue of their Royal Charter, often exercised an independent treaty-making power. In 1791-3 a treaty between the Nabob of Arcot in the Camatic and the East India Company came before the English courts, and it was held that, although the company were subjects with relation to Great Britain, their political treaties, under their delegated sovereignty with a foreign sovereign state were the same as treaties between two independent sovereignties, and were not reviewable by the courts of the Empire. And the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1889 held that an arrangement made between a former king of Oudh and the East India Company took effect as a treaty between two sovereign powers. Many of these treaties provided that there should be perpetual peace between the British Government and the treaty sovereign; that both signatories agreed to a league of defensive alliance and to protect each other against all foreign enemies whatever; and that the British Government would protect the treaty sovereign. Others provided for cessions of territory, some to the British Government and some to the East India Company.



At the present time India has its foreign office, which conducts British-Indian foreign relations with Afghanistan and other surrounding countries, and its diplomatic agents in the Persian Gulf, Muscat and Turkish Arabia deal directly with their local sovereignties respecting matters affecting the foreign and commercial interests of India in these countries. If the East India Company composed of subjects exercised the powers of sovereignty to this extent, by what constitutional or revolutionary process could the "dissolution of the integrity of the Empire" be accomplished if Canada, with her larger executive and legislative powers, which by her Constitutional Act are vested in the Crown, should be endowed with the treaty-making powers of the East India Company?

How Canada has suffered in the past through not having a treaty-making power, or rather through the exercise of that power by British diplomats and plenipotentiaries, was next discussed by Judge Hodgins. The first gift was made by the Treaty of Independence in 1782-3. Mr. Oswald, the British plenipotentiary, wanted to cede the whole of Canada to the United States, and had actually arranged a boundary line from Cornwall to the south of Lake Nipissing, and thence across Canada to the head waters of the Mississippi—ceding the territory we now occupy. As it was, he gave away the Ohio and the Mississippi Valley, ceded by France to Britain in 1763, now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota, which had formed no part of the revolted thirteen colonies. This territory had been ceded through ignorance. Lord Townshend, in the debate on the treaty, said: "Why should not some man from Canada well acquainted with the country have been thought of for the business which Mr. Oswald was sent to negotiate? He either did not know, or appeared ignorant, how the country lay which he had been granting away, as the bargain he had made clearly indicated." It has been truly said by American writers: "The bargain with England was struck on the American basis." An historian of the United States reminds his fellow-citizens that: "However great the errors committed by England in the American struggle, it must always be remembered to his credit that in the peace negotiations Shelburne, declining all temptations to a contrary course, endowed the Republic with the gigantic boundaries on the south, west and north which determined its coming power and influence and its opportunities for good." A well-known American commentator on international law has said: "It has been frequently said that of all the treaties executed by Great Britain this treaty was the one in which she gave most and took least. And in view of the fact that Great Britain at that time held New York, Charlestown and Penobscot, and had almost unchecked control of American waters, her surrender not merely of the entire territory claimed by the colonists, but of the Indians in that territory when she had held under allegiance, of the rights of the refugees she had pledged herself to protect, and of the fisheries in which she conceded to the United States a joint ownership—presents an instance of apparent sacrifice of territory, of authority, of sovereignty and of political prestige which is unparalleled in the history of diplomacy."

Next came the treaty concluding the war of 1812-14. The British soldiers and Canadian militiamen at the close of the war held nearly the whole of

Maine to the Atlantic, and Michigan to Prairie-du-Chien on the Mississippi, and part of Oregon. According to international law Britain might have so fixed the boundary, but all the territory was given back. In 1818 another treaty was made which handed over to the States a large territory extending from Lake Superior west, including the district between the upper waters of the Mississippi, the Red River Valley, and further west to the head waters of the Missouri river (now Dakota and the adjoining territory), to appease, as has been aptly said, "the thrifty appetite of the Republic."

In 1842 came the Ashburton treaty, which gave away 4,600,000 acres of Canadian territory in Maine. The old French boundary line between Canada and Maine was eighty-six miles south of the present, and was shown by an old map discovered by Dr. Sparks of Harvard University in the French archives and forwarded to Mr. Webster, the United States negotiator. This was Franklin's "Red Line Map of 1782," but Lord Ashburton was unaware of it. Greville's "Memoirs" record: "Lord Ashburton told me it was very fortunate that the map did not turn up in the course of the negotiations. Nothing, he said, would ever have induced the Americans to accept that line and admit our claim; and, with such evidence in our favor, it would have been impossible for us to concede what we did."

In 1848 Oregon, with its splendid harbors on the Pacific, was ceded, although the territory had been held from 1790 jointly by Great Britain and Spain, and from 1818 jointly with the United States. And the United States Courts recognized this joint sovereignty by holding that children born in it of British parents were British subjects, and children born of American parents were citizens of the United States. But the threat of "54° 40' or fight" and a pathetic diplomatic appeal had their effect on England, so indifferent to her colonies and to their national power. The appeal was this: "Whilst Oregon is invaluable to the United States, it is of comparatively small importance to Great Britain. To her Oregon would be but a distant colonial possession of doubtful value, and one in which should would probably not long enjoy the essential benefits. Its gain to Great Britain she would never sensibly feel, whilst its loss to the United States would be irreparable." And to this Lord Ashburton added: "It was a question worthless in itself, and was nothing but a mere question of honor."

The following is a summary of the areas ceded:—

1782-3—Ohio and Mississippi....	285,000	square miles.
1818 —Dakota.....	20,000	"
1842 —Maine.....	12,000	"
1846 —Oregon.....	69,000	"
	341,000	"

About equal to the territorial area of Ontario.

They have also received from Great Britain for claims, including the war of 1812, \$6,500,000, and on the Alabama claims \$15,500,000—a total of \$22,000,000.

Britain agreed in 1871 that the Fenian raid claims of Canada amounting to \$1,600,000 should be made against the States, but the States' representatives at the treaty-making declined to discuss the question because of the ambiguous wording of the despatch, and because they "did not commend themselves to American favour"; and the British Colonial Secretary acquiesced by saying that "Canada could not reasonably expect this country should, for an indefinite period, incur the constant risk of serious misunderstanding with the United States."

During the negotiations respecting this Treaty of Washington, Sir John Macdonald thus wrote to one of his colleagues: "The American Commissioners have found our English friends so squeezable in nature, that their audacity has grown beyond all bounds." And he added: "Having made up my mind that the Americans want everything, and will give us nothing in exchange, one of my chief aims now is to convince the British Commissioners of the unreasonableness of the Yankees." Disheartened by an unsympathetic response to his efforts, he then wrote: "I am greatly disappointed at the course taken by the British Commissioners. They seem to have only one thing in their minds—that is, to go to England with a treaty in their pockets, no matter at what cost to Canada."

Although the United States have received such generous territorial gifts from Great Britain, they have had to pay other nations for territory obtained from them. They have made the following payments:—

France (1803), for Louisiana.....	\$15,000,000
Spain (1819), for Pacific possession.....	5,000,000
Mexico (1848), for Pacific possession.....	15,000,000
Mexico (1853), for Pacific possession.....	10,000,000
Russia (1867), for Alaska.....	7,200,000
Spain (1899), for Philippines, etc.....	20,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$72,200,000

But, said Judge Hodgins, while Canada has suffered by these losses, let Canadians remember they are a nation within the mightiest, the most extended and most-justice loving Empire on the earth, being sovereign over one-fifth of its territorial area, and he admonished young Canadians who hold the destines, the power and the honor of Canada in their keeping, to realize and be manfully conscientious to their duty in loyally maintaining this Imperial trust.

(April 25.)

Annual Meeting.

At the annual meeting the Secretary reported a season of continued prosperity, presenting the following statement:—The Report presented at the Annual Meeting held on November 10th last showed a net membership paid up of 790. Since that time 449 new members have been elected. The paid membership at this date is 954, consisting of 631 members whose names were on the roll on November 10th last, and 313 who have been elected since that date. There were, therefore, 136 elected during this season who have not paid their fees, but as many of these were elected but recently, they will probably take advantage of their membership next season. The total membership is therefore 1,090 at the present time.

During the season 26 regular and evening meetings have been held, with an average attendance of 222. Fifteen Executive meetings have been held, with an average attendance of ten. During the season your Committee decided to publish extended reports of the addresses delivered before the Club from time to time, and have already issued two parts, the first containing the addresses delivered during November and December, and the second containing the addresses delivered during January and February. A third part completing the season's work will be issued shortly.

Fifteen hundred of each of these parts were printed, and copies sent to all members of the Club in good standing. Unfortunately, however, the remaining copies of the parts already printed were destroyed in the recent disastrous fire.

The old minute books and other early records were destroyed also; the only things saved being the present minute book dating from November, 1901, and the latest Membership Roll.

The following is the record of the meetings of the Club throughout the season:

1903	Speaker.	Subject.	Attendance.
Nov. 16.	Lt.-Col. Denison.....	Imperial Defence	144
Nov. 23 {	E. B. Osler, M.P.....	Imperial Defence.....	185
Nov. 30.	Jno. A. Ewan	Preferential Trade.....	330
Dec. 7.	Hon. G. W. Ross	Preferential Trade.....	180
	W. F. Cockshutt, of Brantford		
	[Evening]		
Dec. 11 {	Discussion by Prof. Adam Short	Preferential Trade.....	196
	{ R. J. Younge.....		
	{ N. W. Rowell.....		
	{ W. E. Rundle.....		
Dec. 14 {	F. Arnoldi.....	Preferential Trade.....	148
Dec. 14 {	J. E. Atkinson.....	Preferential Trade.....	148
	P. W. Ellis.....		
Dec. 21..	W. T. White.....	Provincial University	138
1904			
Jan. 4..	Hon. Clifford Sifton.....	Immigration.....	325
	[Evening]		
Jan. 6 {	Hon. J. I. Tarte.....	Imperial Unity.....	225
	Hon. Geo. E. Foster	English Public Schools.....	175
Jan. 11..	Rev. Canon Glazebrook.....	Transportation	355
Jan. 18..	Sir Thomas Shaughnessy.....	Peace Arbitration.....	275
Jan. 25..	Dr. Thos. Barclay, Paris.....	Railway Taxation.....	165
Feb. 1..	H. J. Pettypiece, M.P.P.....	Party Politics.....	260
Feb. 8..	Prof. Goldwin Smith.....	Party Politics.....	240
Feb. 15..	J. S. Willison.....	Russo-Japanese War.....	400
Feb. 22..	Dr. J. G. Evans.....		
	[Evening]		
Feb. 24 {	Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G.....	Building up Canada.....	126
	W. F. McLean, M.P.....	Hudson Bay	
Feb. 29..	Ald. H. B. Ames, Montreal.....	Municipal Reform	260
Mar. 7 {	Rev. H. J. Cody.....	Municipal Reform.....	160
	J. E. Atkinson.....		
Mar. 14..	Hon. Sydney Fisher.....	Agriculture in Canada	240
Mar. 21..	Hon. S. H. Blake, K.C.....	Ideals	235
Mar. 23..	Lt.-Col. W. N. Ponton, Belleville.....	Newfoundland Confederation.....	128
	[Evening]		
Mar. 31 {	Robert Reford, Montreal.....	Fast Atlantic Line	110
	J. S. Ewart, K.C., Winnipeg.....	The Kingdom of Canada.....	
Apr. 4..	J. W. Tyrrell, C.E.....	Newfoundland	185
Apr. 11..	Prof. L. F. Lybarger.....	Capital and Labor	295
Apr. 18..	Judge Hodgins	Treating Making Power	190

A Canadian Evening was given by the Club in the Normal School building on March 17th, at which 750 persons were present. Representative Canadian Authors including Messrs. W. Wilfrid Campbell, Norman Duncan and Mrs. Jean Blewett, were invited to read from their own works. Refreshments were served during the evening and the entire building was thrown up to the Club guests.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1903-1904.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand from last year.....	\$ 229.69
Fees at \$2.00.....	1,834.00
Fees at \$1.00	37.00
Outside tickets for At Home.....	33.50
Bank Interest	1.80

	\$2,135.99

DISBURSEMENTS.

Printing, postage, etc., re meetings.....	\$267.71
Printing and mailing proceedings parts 1 and 11	260.50
Honorarium to Secretary.....	150.00
Travelling, hotel expenses, etc., re speakers.....	152.95
At Home, Normal School.....	407.95
Membership cases and cards.....	32.00
Telegrams, telephone, etc.....	52.69
Music re evening meetings.....	37.00
Rebate of fees.....	6.00
Bronze sign border, public library.....	6.00
McIntosh Marble & Granite Co., cleaning tables..	9.00
Balance in bank.....	754.19

	\$2,135.99

TREASURER'S REPORT.

I am pleased to be able to report that the funds are in a very satisfactory condition. We began the year with a balance of \$229.69. Our receipts during the year amounted to \$1,906.30, and disbursements were \$1,381.80, so we close the year with a credit balance of \$754.19.

In view of the fact that this year the fees have been doubled, it will be interesting to you to know that this increase has not seriously affected our old membership. Of the 954 members who have paid there fees during the year, 631 are old members and 323 new members. At the same time the additional funds which have been placed at the disposal of the Executive Committee, have enabled them to procure speakers whom it would not have been possible other-

wise to hear, and to report and publish their addresses for the use of the members. Your Executive were also enabled to arrange for the "At Home" at the Normal School without charge to the members.

ESTIMATES OF FURTHER EXPENSES, SEASON 1903-4.

Printing Proceedings, Part III.....	\$125.00
Postage and notice re annual meeting.....	13.00
Typewriting and addressing.....	6.00
Postage	19.00
Advertising	29.00
Telephone and telegrams.....	1.50
 Total	 \$193.50

OFFICERS ELECTED, SEASON, 1904-1905.

President, George A. Howell; First Vice-President, Mark H. Irish; Second Vice-President, C. W. I. Woodland; Secretary, A. E. Huestis; Literary Correspondent, J. R. Bone; Treasurer, G. Herbert Wood; Committee, Rev. H. J. Cody, Harold Van der Linde, A. L. Crossin, S. P. Gundy, Jos. A. Thompson, Dr. Harold Clarke, John Turnbull, W. R. P. Parker (ex-officio).

The President's Address.

President Howell, in expressing thanks for his election, said:

I do not wish to say very much to-night; my feelings are too strong to permit my making a speech, even if I had the desire, but I do wish to thank you for the great honor you have done me by asking me to be your president for the coming year.

I feel the honor, for it is a very great one, to be chosen as president for this club, the Canadian Club of Toronto. A man would be without feeling of any kind who did not feel it as such, but at the same time he would be without any sense of perception if he did not realize the responsibility. The position has been so worthily filled by many able men, presidents of our Club, since its inception, that it is only natural that a man should question his ability to succeed them, especially a president such as has just vacated the chair. At the same time I feel that the honor largely outweighs the responsibility, and shall endeavor, as far as possible, to merit the one by assuming the other, bearing it in such wise as shall at least prevent you from regretting your choice; this only with the help of the exceedingly strong support which you have selected as officers and committee.

As to the policy of the Club, I have little to say, for I am persuaded that we have been working on the right lines, and such effort as I may be able to

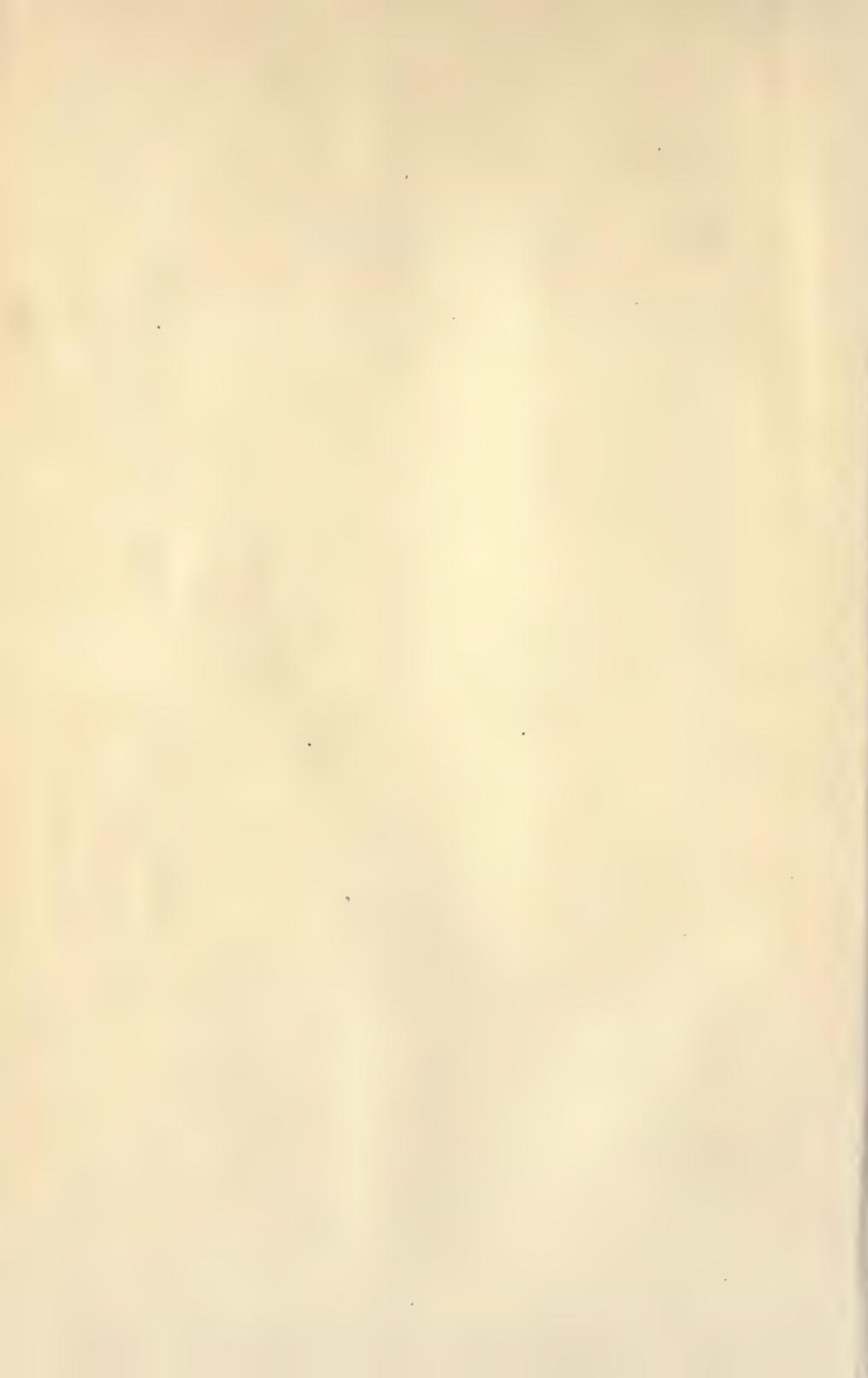
put forth will be in the same direction, with the natural hope that we may be able to improve upon the achievements of our predecessors, successful though they have been. They certainly will not prove easy to surpass. We are doing the right thing when we set before our members information upon the developments of our resources and institutions, our history and our future, knowing that its effect upon them can only be the developing of that true patriotism, the spread of which is our strongest aim.

Canada has her duties and her destiny, and it behooves us to have an intimate knowledge of the first before we can shape the second. Her destiny I conceive lies within the British Empire, and her place in it is entirely in her own hands. At present I believe she can best serve the Empire by developing her strength so that when called upon, as she no doubt will be, to lend her aid or to bear her share of the burden of Empire, she may not be found wanting. Nations, or parts of nations, are much like individuals, and no one turns to a weak neighbor or brother for assistance. To be ready to help is much more than promises or agreements, and so I say, let us in Canada get strong, let us get to know our strength by knowing of our country, its possibilities, its limitations, its resources, and its lack of them.

In everyday life a man should, in fact must, know what he can do and what he cannot do. He must, without conceit, have confidence in his ability, be always ready to take advantage of opportunities as they present themselves, must not shirk his responsibilities, must keep his promises. If Canada, knowing her strength, does these things, she will be doing the best for herself, the best for the Empire. To do our part in this direction is, I take it, the aim of our Club, and I feel, in fact I know, that I voice the mind of the Executive and the Club when I say that our best efforts will be directed to this end.

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